THE VILLAS *of* PLINY THE YOUNGER

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PLINY'S VILLA AT LAURENTUM. Perspective. Reconstruction, 1912, after Cowan's plan. (See Plate 33)

THE VILLAS OF PLINY THE YOUNGER

By

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HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK

With a Foreword
By

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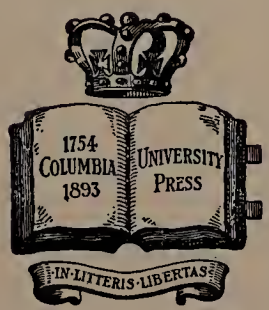
Professor of Latin, Columbia University



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TO

M. B. W.

FOREWORD

This book will be very welcome to the scholar who is familiar with Pompeii and to the tourist who has visited the resurrected city. It will also prove a useful handbook for the teacher who desires to interest his students in the Roman house. Scholars readily turn to books which set forth the results of research and original investigation. This laudable interest however should not lead us to disregard works which may be considered simply as compilations. Encouragement should be given to those who are willing to give discerning effort in bringing together information which is not original but which is useful as a tool in the process of study. A work of this character if reliable has an importance not always recognized. We are, therefore, indebted to the author for placing in one volume opinions of various scholars as to the Villas of Pliny. It is a privilege to write a brief foreword to this attractive and informing book so carefully and enthusiastically prepared by Miss Tanzer and presented in so satisfactory a form by the Columbia University Press.

JAMES C. EGBERT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
December 6, 1923

PREFACE

My interest in Pliny's villas began with a desire to make the whole subject of the habitations of the Romans clearer to my students of Roman life and literature at Hunter College, and reached its most concrete form with the clay model of Pliny's villa at Laurentum which we built on Cowan's plan and which is reproduced as the frontispiece of this study. But instead of being the end of the subject it was merely a beginning and I found in the course of my reading that many other students had been attracted by the subject in the past three hundred years. Furthermore I learned from my travels that a visit to the villas throughout Italy, even to those built at a later date, helps us to understand the ancient establishments as descriptions alone never could, just as an acquaintance with the Italians at home throws a great light on their ancestors, their ways of thinking and even of speaking.

I determined to collect and compare the various reconstructions and found them strangely unlike, but none the less interesting on that account. The more material I gathered the more interested I became and the more I enjoyed my search, and I came to the conclusion that it would be a pity not to make this material easy of access to all who care to know something about the subject. I can only hope that my readers may enjoy these studies half as much as I have enjoyed making them.

A great part of my pleasure is due to the kindness of those who have helped me in various ways and who have thus made my pathway now easier, now pleasanter. The list of those to whom my grateful thanks are due is long: First the libraries. I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking them for the resources which were put at my disposal but especially for the cordial generosity in assist-

ing me in pursuing clues which often enabled me to secure material I should have found it otherwise impossible to obtain.

My thanks are due to the Library of Columbia University and especially to Mr. Frederic W. Erb, Supervisor of the Loan Division, for making available for my use books from libraries in other cities, notably the Krubsacius from the Library of the University of Chicago, and for many courtesies and privileges; also to Professor William B. Dinsmoor, Librarian of the Avery Library, for his ever ready patient help in securing material difficult of access and often elusive; to the New York Public Library and especially the Art Department where I received much assistance in searching for material and in finding it, particularly Schinkel's plates and some of Canina's, and for allowing me to have them reproduced through the Photostat Service; to the Library of Congress at Washington for the generous use of its privileges and especially to Dr. Walther F. Koenig of the Cataloguing Division, who gave me much assistance and who brought to my attention the invaluable Union Catalogue.

To Professor Alfred D. F. Hamlin of the School of Architecture of Columbia University I am under obligation for his kindness in searching out the unpublished drawings of Loring and of J. G. S. and for allowing me to reproduce them; to Professor Dinsmoor of the same School of Architecture for much helpful advice and many timely suggestions; to Professor Charles Knapp of Barnard College for reading the book in manuscript and for helpful counsel; and to Professor James C. Egbert of Columbia University to whom I owe so much for his constant and gracious helpfulness of which I have availed myself on countless occasions, and of which his introductory note is the culminating proof.

To Mr. Joseph S. Kellogg of the Suffolk Engraving Company I owe a debt of gratitude for his painstaking and

careful attention to the difficult task of reproducing my numerous plates; to my friend and colleague, Miss Allene R. Swain, for her valuable assistance in reading the proof of the book; and to Mr. John J. Lynch of the Columbia University Press for innumerable acts of kindness in the course of seeing the book through the press.

But the tale of my obligations would be far from complete if I failed to mention the generous assistance freely and gracefully given by my students whenever I had need of it, and especially by Miss Josephine Ondricek, now of Erasmus Hall High School, and by Miss Margaret Walsh, now of Bryant High School. These two worked over the plans and the key to them with endless patience and care and so saved me from falling into many errors.

And last but by no means least my thanks are due to my friend and colleague, Professor Margaret Barclay Wilson, without whose kind encouragement this work would never have been undertaken, much less finished. The dedication of the book to her is at best but a slight token of my deep sense of obligation.

HELEN H. TANZER

NEW YORK,
November, 1923

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

These villas of Pliny are more important than would at first sight appear, for together they form a unique document for the study of the Roman house and are a complete chapter in the history of the habitations of man. Before Pliny's time, during the Roman Republic, that is to say, we know the *villa urbana* and the *villa rustica* from Vitruvius and Palladius no less than from the excavations at Pompeii which the Nineteenth Century disclosed; after his day we have Hadrian's villa which is about as much richer and more elaborate as we might expect an emperor's to be when compared with that of a gentleman of means. But a further distinction is that in Pliny's letters on his villas we have the only description in Latin literature of the house and garden of a Roman which is at the same time the prototype of the Italian garden as it developed in Italy and also in France.

Hadrian's villa has been studied and described with the minutest care by many men, chief among them Gusman.[1] We find frequent mention of villas in Latin literature; for instance, remarks on extravagance, mostly disapproving, were made by Sallust,[2] Varro,[3] Horace,[4] Tacitus,[5] Juvenal [6] and Seneca;[7] Tacitus[8] mentions the gardens which Severus and Celer designed for Nero as a setting for the Golden House; Seneca[9] speaks of the villa of Vatia, but merely to mention the comfort and the extent of it, which serve him as a text for moral reflections; Cicero,[10] in several passages in his letters to Atticus, refers to his villas, of which he had many; he mentions the villa of Clodius[11] in his speech

[1] Gusman, Pierre, La Villa Impériale de Tibur; see also Winnefeld, Römische Villen der Kaiserzeit.

[2] Bell. Cat. 12 f.

[3] R.R. I. 13, 6.

[4] Carm. II. 15 and 18.

[5] Ann. III. 53 f.

[6] Sat. XIV. 86 ff.

[7] Ep. 89, 20.

[8] Ann. XV. 42.

[9] Ep. 55.

on Milo, and speaks of wall decorations[12] in the speech for Sestius. Again, in De Legibus, Cicero[13] calls our attention to the evils of trying to outdo our neighbors in extravagance in our houses; Seneca[14] mentions baths, but only to show how much better they were when they were not so extravagant, in the good old days; and we find them also mentioned in Pliny the Elder,[15] Frontinus[16] and Plutarch.[17] On the villa urbana we have Varro's[18] remarks on the origin of it, and we find that Horace[19] speaks with approval of his friend Vala's fine country house. On the importance of a good view in planning a villa, Cicero[20] again furnishes us with information, and Seneca[21] likewise, though with disapproval; and in the same epistle he mentions the magnificence of Scipio's villa. Statius'[22] famous poem on the villa of Volantilla gives us atmosphere rather than description, and finally Martial[23] gives us a pleasant enough picture of the villa of Apollinaris at Formiae.

But the more of these references we find, the more we value the detailed description which Pliny has left us. Not one nor all the other authors combined could lead us to visualize, much less reconstruct a habitable villa, as Pliny's two letters allow us to do.

[10] Ad Att. I. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10; II. 1, 9; IV. 2; XIII. 29.
[11] Pro Mil. 10, 19, 20, 31.
[12] Pro Sest. 43, 93.
[13] III. 13.
[14] Ep. 86, 10–11.
[15] N.H. 35; 26; 36, 115.
[16] De Aq. 9.
[17] Lucull. 39.
[18] R.R. I. 13.
[19] Ep. I 15, 45.
[20] Ad Att. XIV. 13, 1.
[21] Ep. 86, 8.
[22] Silvae, I. 3; and II. 2.
[23] Ep. X. 30.

PART I

PLINY'S VILLAS

THE LAURENTINE VILLA

Letters, Book II, Letter 17

1 You are surprised, you say, my dear Gallus, that I am so fond of my villa at Laurentum, but you would cease to be if you knew how pleasant the house is and how conven-
2 iently situated on the shores of the Mediterranean. It is only seventeen miles from the City, near enough to let one attend to his affairs and still have a good part of the day to spend at the villa. You may take either the Via Laurentina or the Via Ostiensis, only if you come by the former you turn off at the fourteenth milestone, if by the latter, at the eleventh. They are both rather sandy for a part of the way and rather heavy and slow for a team, but short and
3 easy for horseback. The scenery on either hand is varied: woods and broad fields, covered with many flocks of sheep and herds of horses and cattle which, driven down from the mountains by the winter, enjoy grazing in the warm spring-like air in the valley.

My villa, while big enough to be comfortable, is by no
4 means palatial. The first room we come to on entering the

C. Plinius Gallo Suo S.

1 Miraris, cur me Laurentinum vel, si ita mavis, Laurens meum tanto opere delectet: desines mirari, cum cognoveris gratiam villae,
2 opportunitatem loci, litoris spatium. Decem et septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis, quae agenda fuerint, salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere. Aditur non una via; nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem ferunt, sed Laurentina a quarto decimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo relinquenda est. Utrimque excipit iter aliqua ex parte harenosum iunctis paulo gravius et longius, equo
3 breve et molle. Varia hinc atque inde facies; nam modo occurrentibus silvis via coartatur, modo latissimis pratis diffunditur et patescit; multi greges ovium, multa ibi equorum, boum armenta, quae montibus hieme depulsa herbis et tepore verno nitescunt.

4 Villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela. Cuius in prima parte

house is the atrium, small but not unpleasing; the next room is composed of two colonnades coming together to form the letter D enclosing a space which is small but pleasant and forming an excellent retreat in case of a storm by reason of the protection afforded by the windows and the over-
5 hanging roof. Farther on is an attractive anteroom and a very nice dining room which runs out towards the shore and is washed by the waves whenever the south west wind ruffles the sea. It has folding doors and windows as large on each side and so you have three different views of the sea from the front and the sides, while from the rear you look back at the part we have just come through: the anteroom, the colonnades, the atrium, the woods and far off in the distance, the mountains.

6 To the left of the dining room but farther in is a large room, then a smaller one which has windows facing both east and west and receives the rising and the setting sun and
7 also has a view of the sea below, from a distance. The angle formed by this room and the dining room is always flooded with sunlight, excellent as a sitting room in winter, and indeed it is used by my slaves as their gymnasium. It is absolutely shielded from the wind except when a storm is
8 coming up and then it cannot be used anyway. At the

atrium frugi nec tamen sordidum, deinde porticus in D litterae similitudinem circumactae, quibus parvula, sed festiva area includitur. Egregium hae adversus tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus
5 ac multo magis inminentibus tectis muniuntur. Est contra medias cavaedium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in litus excurrit ac, si quando Africo mare impulsum est, fractis iam et novissimis fluctibus leviter adluitur. Undique valvas aut fenestras non minores valvis habet atque ita a lateribus, a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavaedium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes.

6 Huius a laeva retractius paulo cubiculum est amplum, deinde aliud minus, quod altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera retinet, hac et subiacens mare longius quidem, sed securius intuetur.
7 Huius cubiculi et triclinii illius obiectu includitur angulus, qui purissimum solem continet et accendit. Hoc hibernaculum, hoc etiam gymnasium meorum est; ibi omnes silent venti exceptis, qui nubilum

other corner is a room with a bay window which receives the sun all day long. A book case set in the wall contains books not as library furniture but for browsing and re-
9 reading. Next door is a bedroom connected by a passage from which it can be heated whenever you like. The rest of this side of the house is given up to my slaves and freedmen and is large enough to accommodate guests when they come to stay.

10 On the other side is a charming room, then one which you can regard as a large sitting room or a small dining room which receives the sun direct and also its reflection from the sea. Behind this is a room with an anteroom, cool in summer and warm in winter, as it is protected from all winds and the ceiling is high. Another room with an anteroom adjoins this one, separated by a party wall.

11 Here you enter the bath rooms: First comes the cold room which is large and high and has two plunge baths built into the wall at either side, large enough if you consider how near the sea is. Next door is the anointing room, then the hot room, next the steam room, which is over the furnace, then two small rooms tasteful but not showy; next is a splendid warm swimming pool

8 inducunt et serenum, ante quam usum loci eripiunt. Adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curvatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. Parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium
9 insertum est, quod non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit. Adhaeret dormitorium membrum transitu interiacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illuc digerit et ministrat. Reliqua pars lateris huius servorum libertorumque usibus detinetur plerisque tam mundis, ut accipere hospites possint.

10 Ex alio latere cubiculum est politissimum; deinde vel cubiculum grande vel modica cenatio, quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet; post hanc cubiculum cum procoetone, altitudine aestivum, munimentis hibernum; est enim subductum omnibus ventis. Huic cubiculo aliud et procoeton communi pariete iunguntur.

11 Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eiecta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si mare in proximo cogites. Adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balinei, mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuo-

from which you can look out and see the Mediterranean as you swim; close by is the ball court which receives the sun all day long.

12 At this point there is a tower three stories high, two rooms to a floor, and a dining room on the top floor which has a view far across the water and of a long stretch of the
13 shore including some lovely villas. Another tower of the same height contains, on the top floor, a chamber with windows facing east and west, and behind it a store room and granary. On the next floor below is a dining room in which one never hears any noise from the sea even when it is stormy except a subdued echo. It overlooks the garden and the walk around it.

14 This walk is bordered with box supplemented with rosemary, for while the former grows very well where it has the protection of the house, it does not flourish under the open
15 sky where the wind and spray can affect it. Running along the inner side of the walk is a shady path for walking barefoot, soft and yielding to the foot. There are a great many mulberry and fig trees in the garden, for its soil is very favorable to these trees, though not so good for others. This dining room has as fine a view as if it looked out on

sae; cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare aspiciunt, nec procul sphaeristerium, quod calidissimo soli inclinato iam die occurrit.

12 Hic turris erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae, totidem in ipsa, praeterea cenatio, quae latissimum mare, longissimum litus, villas amoenissimas
13 prospicit. Est et alia turris. In hac cubiculum, in quo sol nascitur conditurque, lata post apotheca et horreum, sub hoc triclinium, quod turbati maris non nisi fragorem et sonum patitur eumque iam languidum ac desinentem; hortum et gestationem videt, qua hortus includitur.

14 Gestatio buxo aut rore marino, ubi deficit buxus, ambitur; nam buxus, qua parte defenditur tectis, abunde viret; aperto caelo aper-
15 toque vento et quamquam longinqua aspergine maris inarescit. Adiacet gestationi interiore circumitu via tenera et umbrosa nudisque etiam pedibus mollis et cedens. Hortum morus et ficus frequens vestit, quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax terra est, malignior ceteris.

the sea. There are two apartments behind it which overlook the entrance to the house and the kitchen garden.

16 Here begins a covered gallery which is used by everybody in the house. It has windows on both sides, twice as many on the side facing the sea as on the garden side. We keep them all open all the time if there is no wind, and even when it blows we keep as many open as possible.

17 In front of the gallery is a terrace fragrant with violets. The gallery absorbs the heat of the sun and at the same time forms a protection against the north east wind, so that whether it is hot or cold it is comfortable within. It also serves to break the south west wind, and whatever
18 others blow from any direction. This makes it even more comfortable in summer than in winter, for in the morning the terrace is shady and in the course of the afternoon there is always a cool place in the walk or the garden close by.
19 The gallery itself is shadiest at the hottest time of day. When the windows are open the west wind comes in and
20 there is always a breeze and it never becomes close. At the end of the terrace beyond the gallery is my garden suite, my favorite because I planned it to please myself. It con-

Hac non deteriore quam maris facie cenatio remota a mari fruitur, cingitur diaetis duabus a tergo, quarum fenestris subiacet vestibulum villae et hortus alius pinguis et rusticus.

16 Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur. Utrimque fenestrae, a mari plures, ab horto singulis ex alternis pauciores. Hae, cum serenus dies et inmotus, omnes, cum hinc vel inde ventis inquietus, qua venti quiescunt, sine iniuria patent.

17 Ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus. Teporem solis infusi repercussu cryptoporticus auget, quae ut tenet solem sic aquilonem inhibet summovetque, quantumque caloris ante tantum retro frigoris. Similiter Africum sistit atque ita diversissimos ventos alium alio latere
18 frangit et finit. Haec iucunditas eius hieme, maior aestate. Nam ante meridiem xystum, post meridiem gestationis hortique proximam partem umbra sua temperat, quae, ut dies crevit decrevitve, modo
19 brevior, modo longior hac vel illa cadit. Ipsa vero cryptoporticus tum maxime caret sole, cum ardentissimus culmini eius insistit. Ad hoc patentibus fenestris favonios accipit transmittitque nec umquam

tains a solarium which on one side looks out from the doors upon the terrace, one of the rooms and the gallery, and on the other upon the sea from the window, and receives sunlight from both.

21 Opposite the central part is my den, a bay window which can be shut off from the rest of the room by drawing the curtains or made a part of it by leaving them open. It contains two chairs and a couch, the sea is below, the woods above, the rest of the house behind. There is a panoramic view from the windows.

22 Next door is my bed chamber with a corridor between it and the garden. No sound penetrates to it, not the voices of my slaves nor the murmur of the sea, no thunder nor lightning, not even daylight unless the windows are 23 open. This room is heated by means of a small aperture from a furnace room from which the heat can be admitted at pleasure. Another room with an anteroom juts out and catches the first rays of the rising sun and even in the afternoon it is still sunny.

24 When I am in these apartments I could fancy that I had left my house, it is so quiet, even at the Saturnalia, which of course pleases me greatly as at that time the rest of the

20 aëre pigro et manente ingravescit. In capite xysti deinceps cryptoporticus horti diaeta est, amores mei, re vera amores: ipse posui. In hac heliocaminus quidem alia xystum, alia mare, utraque solem, cubiculum autem valvis cryptoporticum, fenestra prospicit mare.

21 Contra parietem medium zotheca perquam eleganter recedit, quae specularibus et velis obductis reductisve modo adicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur. Lectum et duas cathedras capit; a pedibus mare, a tergo villae, a capite silvae: tot facies locorum totidem fenestris et distinguit et miscet.

22 Iunctum est cubiculum noctis et somni. Non illud voces servulorum, non maris murmur, non tempestatum motus, non fulgurum lumen ac ne diem quidem sentit nisi fenestris apertis. Tam alti abditique secreti illa ratio, quod interiacens andron parietes cubiculi hortique distinguit atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit.

23 Adplicitum est cubiculo hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet. Pro-

house resounds with the noise of merrymaking; but I do not interfere with the pleasure of the members of my household and they do not disturb my studies.

25 The one thing lacking amidst all these comforts, not to say luxuries, is running water or springs, though we have an abundance of pools and basins. The country is wonderfully well supplied with moisture by nature and whenever you dig down below the surface you find it wet and not in the least salty despite the nearness of the sea.

26 The woods nearby provide us with firewood, and everything else we get from the city of Ostia. Indeed at a pinch we could find everything in the village which lies just beyond the next estate. In this village there are three very decent bathing establishments, quite satisfactory in case you arrive at the villa unexpectedly and are unwilling to wait while our baths are heating.

27 The shore is full of villas, some standing alone and some in groups, so that you get the impression of many settlements whether you view it from land or from sea. The beach is often smooth for a long time though it is more frequently roughened by a storm.

coeton inde et cubiculum porrigitur in solem, quem orientem statim exceptum ultra meridiem oblicum quidem, sed tamen servat.

24 In hanc ego diaetam cum me recepi, abesse mihi etiam a villa mea videor magnamque eius voluptatem praecipue Saturnalibus capio, cum reliqua pars tecti licentia dierum festisque clamoribus personat; nam nec ipse meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis obstrepunt.

25 Haec utilitas, haec amoenitas deficitur aqua salienti, sed puteos ac potius fontes habet; sunt enim in summo. Et omnino litoris illius mira natura: quocumque loco moveris humum, obvius et paratus umor occurrit isque sincerus ac ne leviter quidem tanta maris vicinitate corruptus.

26 Suggerunt adfatim ligna proximae silvae; ceteras copias Ostiensis colonia ministrat. Frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit. In hoc balinea meritoria tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calfacere dissuadeat.

27 Litus ornant varietate gratissima nunc continua, nunc intermissa

28 There are no very fine fishes in the sea, it is true, though the sole and the prawn are excellent. My estate provides everything that inland country produces, especially milk, for the cattle come down from their grazing whenever they want water or shade.

29 Now don't you think that I have sufficient reason to love my country home, even though you are too confirmed a town dweller to envy me? I wish you did envy me, however, for perhaps then the wealth of my little place would be increased by a visit from yourself.

Yours with love,

SECUNDUS.

tecta villarum, quae praestant multarum urbium faciem, sive mari sive ipso litore utare; quod non numquam longa tranquillitas mollit, saepius frequens et contrarius fluctus indurat.

28 Mare non sane pretiosis piscibus abundat, soleas tamen et squillas optimas egerit. Villa vero nostra etiam mediterraneas copias praestat, lac in primis; nam illuc e pascuis pecora conveniunt, si quando aquam umbramve sectantur.

29 Iustisne de causis iam tibi videor incolere, inhabitare, diligere secessum? quem tu nimis urbanus es nisi concupiscis. Atque utinam concupiscas! ut tot tantisque dotibus villulae nostrae maxima commendatio ex tuo contubernio accedat. Vale.

THE TUSCAN VILLA

Letters, Book V, Letter 6

1 It is most kind of you, my dear Apollinaris, to try to dissuade me from going to my Tuscan villa because of the
2 climate, but though you are right in thinking that the Tuscan coast is malarial, my villa is quite a distance from the shore, right at the foot of the Apennines, a very healthful situation.

3 Let me describe my villa to you, and when you hear how salubrious the climate is and how comfortable the house and how well situated, you will see that there is no cause for anxiety. The place is indeed so thoroughly delightful that I think you will like to hear about it as much as I shall enjoy the telling.

4 It is so cold in winter that we have no myrtle, olives or other trees that require a warm climate, though the laurel flourishes and is sometimes very fine—though sometimes the frost kills it—not oftener however than it does in Rome,
5 for that matter. But in summer it is delightfully cool; there is always a breeze though there is seldom a high wind.

C. Plinius Domitio Apollinari Suo S.

1 Amavi curam et sollicitudinem tuam, quod, cum audisses me aestate Tuscos meos petiturum, ne facerem, suasisti, dum putas
2 insalubres. Est sane gravis et pestilens ora Tuscorum, quae per litus extenditur; sed hi procul a mari recesserunt, quin etiam Appennino, saluberrimo montium, subiacent.

3 Atque adeo ut omnem pro me metum ponas, accipe temperiem caeli, regionis situm, villae amoenitatem: quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt.

4 Caelum est hieme frigidum et gelidum; myrtos, oleas, quaeque alia aestivo tempore laetantur, aspernatur ac respuit; laurum tamen patitur atque etiam nitidissimam profert, interdum, sed non saepius
5 quam sub urbe nostra necat. Aestatis mira clementia: semper aër spiritu aliquo movetur, frequentius tamen auras quam ventos habet.

6 You would believe that the place is healthy if you could see how many grandfathers and greatgrandfathers there are among the native families. The tales the old fellows tell about their ancestors carry you back a century or two.

7 The country is wonderfully beautiful. It gives the impression of a huge natural amphitheatre, the arena is a wide plain surrounded by mountains which rise to a great height. At the summit is a forest of huge ancient trees providing excellent hunting of various kinds. Below the forest the slopes are covered with timber woods which grow less thick 8 as they descend the slope. There is a great deal of underbrush, and scattered through this are hillocks of very rich soil in which you will hardly find a stone, search as you may, and these hillocks are fully as fertile as the fields in the plain and bear as rich a harvest, though somewhat 9 later. At the foot of the hills there is a network of vines, and at the very lowest margin a vineyard forming a sort of fringe.

10 Then come the fields and the meadows. The soil of the fields is so heavy that it has to be ploughed nine times before it is ready for planting though they use extremely 11 heavy plows drawn by powerful bulls. The meadows are

6 Hinc senes multi: videas avos proavosque iam iuvenum, audias fabulas veteres sermonesque maiorum, cumque veneris illo, putes alio te saeculo natum.

7 Regionis forma pulcherrima. Imaginare amphitheatrum aliquod immensum, et quale sola rerum natura possit effingere. Lata et diffusa planities montibus cingitur, montes summa sui parte procera nemora et antiqua habent. Frequens ibi et varia venatio. Inde 8 caeduae silvae cum ipso monte descendunt. Has inter pingues terrenique colles (neque enim facile usquam saxum, etiam si quaeratur, occurrit) planissimis campis fertilitate non cedunt opimamque mes- 9 sem serius tantum, sed non minus percoquunt. Sub his per latus omne vineae porriguntur unamque faciem longe lateque contexunt; quarum a fine imoque quasi margine arbusta nascuntur.

10 Prata inde campique, campi, quos non nisi ingentes boves et fortissima aratra perfringunt: tantis glaebis tenacissimum solum, cum 11 primum prosecatur, adsurgit, ut nono demum sulco perdometur. Prata

thickly sprinkled with clover and all other sorts of herbage which all grow fresh and tender. The whole basin is watered by never failing springs, and while there is an abundance of water there are no marshes, as the ground
12 water drains away into the river. The Tiber, which traverses these fields, carries many ships with produce of various kinds to the City, but only in the winter and the spring, and again in the autumn, for in spite of its mighty name, it dries up in the summer to the size of a brook.

13 I know you would enjoy the view of this part of the country from the mountain: for as the land lies below you it looks more like a beautiful landscape painting than the real thing, it is a refreshing picture both in its variety and
14 in its regularity. The view from the house is like a mountain view though the house is really at the foot of the hills; the slope is so gradual that you never know you have climbed a hill till you look back and see how far you have come. Behind the house, but quite far away, are the Apennines and so, no matter how warm the day, there is always a gentle breeze, but never a gale.

15 The house faces almost full south, and so the entrance

florida et gemmea trifolium aliasque herbas teneras semper et molles et quasi novas alunt. Cuncta enim perennibus rivis nutriuntur; sed, ubi aquae plurimum, palus nulla, quia devexa terra, quidquid liquoris
12 accepit nec absorbuit, effundit in Tiberim. Medios ille agros secat navium patiens omnesque fruges devehit in urbem, hieme dumtaxat et vere; aestate summittitur immensique fluminis nomen arenti alveo deserit, autumno resumit.

13 Magnam capies voluptatem, si hunc regionis situm ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi, sed formam aliquam ad eximiam pulchritudinem pictam videberis cernere: ea varietate, ea descrip-
14 tione, quocumque inciderint oculi, reficientur. Villa in colle imo sita prospicit quasi ex summo: ita leniter et sensim clivo fallente consurgit, ut, cum ascendere te non putes, sentias ascendisse. A tergo Appenninum, sed longius habet; accipit ab hoc auras quamlibet sereno et placido die, non tamen acres et inmodicas, sed spatio ipso lassas et infractas.

15 Magna sui parte meridiem spectat aestivumque solem ab hora

porch is always sunny—in summer at noon and in winter a little earlier. Several rooms open on the porch, which is wide and comparatively deep, notably an atrium in the old style.

16 In front of the porch is a terrace laid out in beds of various shapes edged with box, and, sloping down from this, a bank bordered by rows of box at both sides in the form of animals facing one another, and on the level ground below,
17 acanthus so soft that it almost seems to flow. Around it is a walk hedged in by shrubs trained and cut into various forms, and outside a driveway encircles it which is itself bordered by numerous evergreen shrubs which either grow low or are kept down by pruning. This is all enclosed by a wall which is concealed by box trees rising in steps so as
18 to hide it completely. Then comes a meadow the natural beauty of which is as great as the artificial beauty just described, then fields, and, stretching off into the distance, more meadows planted with trees.

19 At the end of the porch a dining room abuts which, from the folding doors, looks down upon the extreme end of the terrace, on the meadow and a good bit of the country beyond; and from the windows at one side looks out on the terrace and

sexta, hibernum aliquanto maturius quasi invitat in porticum latam et pro modo longam. Multa in hac membra, atrium etiam ex more
16 veterum. Ante porticum xystus in plurimas species distinctus, concisus buxo; demissus inde pronusque pulvinus, cui bestiarum effigies invicem adversas buxus inscripsit; acanthus in plano mollis et paene
17 dixerim liquidus. Ambit hunc ambulatio pressis varieque tonsis viridibus inclusa; ab his gestatio in modum circi, quae buxum multiformem humilesque et retentas manu arbusculas circumit. Omnia
18 maceria muniuntur: hanc gradata buxus operit et subtrahit. Pratum inde non minus natura quam superiora illa arte visendum; campi deinde porro multaque alia prata et arbusta.

19 A capite porticus triclinium excurrit; valvis xystum desinentem et protinus pratum multumque ruris videt, fenestris hac latus xysti, et quod prosilit villae, hac adiacentis hippodromi nemus comasque prospectat.

on the other at the trees and the woods around the park which lies beyond the house.

20 Opening from about the middle of the porch and a little behind it is a suite of rooms enclosing a small court shaded by four plane trees which are watered by the overflow from a marble basin in which stands a fountain gently spraying
21 the surrounding verdure. One of the rooms of this suite is a little alcove for sleeping from which it is possible to exclude every ray of light and all sounds. Next door is the private dining room which we use informally; it looks out on the plane trees, the porch and the atrium and has the same view as the porch.

22 Then comes another chamber, shaded by a leafy plane tree and ornamented by a marble wainscoting and, no less pleasing, a frieze above it, depicting birds perched on leafy
23 branches. There is a fountain in a basin and the pleasant sound of running water from many jets.

At the corner of the portico a large chamber projects toward the dining room and from the windows on one side you can look down on the terrace and from the other side on that part of the meadows which lie below, where stands a marble basin, pleasing to the eye and to the ear also as the
24 foaming water falls back into the basin. This room is warm

20 Contra mediam fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit, cingit areolam, quae quattuor platanis inumbratur. Inter has marmoreo labro aqua exundat circumiectasque platanos et subiecta platanis leni aspergine
21 fovet. Est in hac diaeta dormitorium cubiculum, quod diem, clamorem, sonum excludit, iunctaque ei cotidiana amicorumque cenatio: areolam illam, porticum, atrium eademque omnia quae porticus aspicit.

22 Est et aliud cubiculum a proxima platano viride et umbrosum, marmore excultum podio tenus, nec cedit gratiae marmoris ramos insiden-
23 tesque ramis aves imitata pictura. Fonticulus in hoc, in fonte crater; circa sipunculi plures miscent iucundissimum murmur.

In cornu porticus amplissimum cubiculum triclinio occurrit; aliis fenestris xystum, aliis despicit pratum, sed ante piscinam, quae fenestris servit ac subiacet, strepitu visuque iucundam; nam ex edito de-
24 siliens aqua suscepta marmore albescit. Idem cubiculum hieme tepi-

25 in winter because the sun comes streaming in all day long. Or, if the day is cloudy, the room can be heated from the hypocaust which is connected with it. Adjoining the hypocaust is a pleasant large heated dressing room for the bath and next to that a swimming pool for a cold plunge in a large shaded basin. If you wish to have a swim in warmer water, there is a pool outdoors in the court and a basin near by which you can use to refresh yourself when you want to
26 cool off. Adjoining the swimming pool is a room warmed by the sun, warmer than a caldarium need be, since it projects. There are three pools here, two directly in the sun and the third somewhat shaded though not dark.

27 Above the dressing room is the gymnasium, fitted up for various kinds of exercise with several courts marked out. Not far from the bath rooms are stairs leading first to three apartments and then to a covered gallery. One of these rooms—they have quite different exposures—overlooks the little court with the plane trees, another looks out on the
28 terrace and the third on the vineyard. At the upper end of the gallery and forming a part of it, is a chamber which looks out on the park, the vineyard and the mountains. Then comes a chamber which enjoys the full sun, especially

25 dissimum, quia plurimo sole perfunditur. Cohaeret hypocauston et, si dies nubilus, inmisso vapore solis vicem supplet. Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria, in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum. Si natare latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est, in proximo puteus, ex quo possis rursus adstringi, si paeni-
26 teat teporis. Frigidariae cellae conectitur media, cui sol benignissime praesto est; caldariae magis: prominet enim. In hac tres descensiones, duae in sole, tertia a sole longius, a luce non longius.

27 Apodyterio superpositum est sphaeristerium, quod plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capit. Non procul a balineo scalae, quae in cryptoporticum ferunt, prius ad diaetas tres. Harum alia areolae illi, in qua platani quattuor, alia prato, alia vineis imminet
28 diversasque caeli partes ut prospectus habet. In summa cryptoporticu cubiculum ex ipsa cryptoporticu excisum, quod hippodromum, vineas, montes intuetur. Iungitur cubiculum obvium soli, maxime hiberno.

in winter, and then a sitting room which extends the villa toward the park. This is the view in front.

29 At the side is a high two story covered colonnade, for summer use, which seems not merely to face the vineyards but to touch them. A dining room in the centre receives the freshest breezes direct from the valley of the Apennines; at the back the vineyards seem to come in through the broad windows and also through the folding doors, and almost
30 from the colonnade. At the side of the dining room where there are no windows, stairs provide a private entrance to the banquet hall. At the end there is a chamber which has a good view of the whole colonnade as well as of the vineyards. The lower story which is underground is similar to the upper one, except that in the summer time it is quite cool; it receives no breath of outside air nor does it need it.

31 Behind this two story gallery beyond the dining room is a porch which receives the sun before midday in winter and earlier in summer. The porch leads to two apartments in which there are three and four chambers respectively which are shady or sunny according to the position of the sun.

Hinc oritur diaeta, quae villae hippodromum adnectit. Haec facies, hic visus a fronte.

29 A latere aestiva cryptoporticus in edito posita, quae non aspicere vineas, sed tangere videtur. In media triclinium saluberrimum adflatum ex Appenninis vallibus recipit; post latissimis fenestris vineas,
30 valvis aeque vineas, sed per cryptoporticum quasi admittit. A latere triclinii, quod fenestris caret, scalae convivio utilia secretiore aditu suggerunt. In fine cubiculum, cui non minus iucundum prospectum cryptoporticus ipsa quam vineae praebent. Subest cryptoporticus subterraneae similis; aestate incluso frigore riget contentaque aëre suo nec desiderat auras nec admittit.

31 Post utramque cryptoporticum, unde triclinium desinit, incipit porticus ante medium diem hiberna, inclinato die aestiva. Hac adeuntur diaetae duae, quarum in altera cubicula quattuor, altera tria, ut circumit sol, aut sole utuntur aut umbra.

32 This pleasantly situated group of buildings follows the course of the driveway though at some distance from it. Upon entering, the visitor at once takes in the whole view of this part of the park, with plane trees in the centre, so covered with ivy that its leaves mingle with the leaves of the trees and look exactly as if they were part of them. The ivy not only covers the trunk and branches of each tree, but goes from one to another, in festoons, binding the trees together. Boxwood is planted there between the plane trees, and beyond the box is laurel, which mingles its shade
33 with that of the plane trees. The driveway ends in a semicircle where the view is quite different. For cypresses bound the edge of it and make a shadow that grows blacker and denser the farther it goes, but on the beds within, of which there are many, the sun shines bright, and roses grow
34 there, making the sunlit spot a lovely contrast to the cool shadows. Then after many curves the road is straight again and branches into many paths separated by boxwood
35 hedges. And in between there are small patches of lawn set here and there with box trees cut into numerous different shapes, even letters which spell out the name of the owner and again of the artist. There are also rows of

32 Hanc dispositionem amoenitatemque tectorum longe longeque praecedit hippodromus. Medius patescit statimque intrantium oculis totus offertur, platanis circumitur; illae hedera vestiuntur utque summae suis ita imae alienis frondibus virent. Hedera truncum et ramos pererrat vicinasque platanos transitu suo copulat. Has buxus interiacet; exteriores buxos circumvenit laurus umbraeque plata-
33 norum suam confert. Rectus hic hippodromi limes in extrema parte hemicyclio frangitur mutatque faciem: cupressis ambitur et tegitur densiore umbra opacior nigriorque; interioribus circulis (sunt enim
34 plures) purissimum diem recipit. Inde etiam rosas effert umbrarumque frigus non ingrato sole distinguit. Finito vario illo multiplicique curvamine recto limiti redditur nec huic uni; nam viae plures inter-
35 cedentibus buxis dividuntur. Alibi pratulum, alibi ipsa buxus intervenit in formas mille discripta, litteris interdum, quae modo nomen domini dicunt, modo artificis: alternis metulae surgunt, alternis inserta sunt poma, et in opere urbanissimo subita velut inlati ruris imi-

little posts alternating with fruit trees, thus surprising one with the appearance of rustic simplicity in surroundings of
36 studied formality. The central space has low plane trees on each side. Behind these is acanthus, some pliant and vinelike and some cut into animal forms and letters. At the head is a curved seat of white marble decked with vines and four vine clad columns of Carystian marble. From beneath the seat water flows out from small pipes but appears to be pressed out by the weight of the bench and its occupants, and is caught in a stone basin hewn out of the rock faced with marble, very pretty, in which the supply is so regulated that it never overflows though it is
37 always full. When meals are served here the appetizers and the heavier courses are served from the bank, while the lighter ones are floated on the surface in artificial birds and little ships. There is a fountain in full view of this seat from which the water shoots up into the air and is caught in the basin as it falls back, not continuously but intermittently.

Opposite the marble bench is a chamber which adds as much to the beauty of the scene as it gains from it. It
38 is covered with shining marble and opens into the garden by folding doors, above and below it is embowered in greenery.

tatio. Medium spatium brevioribus utrimque platanis adornatur.
36 Post has acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus, deinde plures figurae pluraque nomina. In capite stibadium candido marmore vite protegitur; vitem quattuor columellae Carystiae subeunt. Ex stibadio aqua velut expressa cubantium pondere sipunculis effluit, cavato lapide suscipitur, gracili marmore continetur atque ita occulte tem-
37 peratur, ut impleat nec redundet. Gustatorium graviorque cena margini imponitur, levior navicularum et avium figuris innatans circumit. Contra fons egerit aquam et recipit; nam expulsa in altum in se cadit iunctisque hiatibus et absorbetur et tollitur.

E regione stibadii adversum cubiculum tantum stibadio reddit
38 ornatus, quantum accipit ab illo. Marmore splendet, valvis in viridia prominet et exit, alia viridia superioribus inferioribusque fenestris suspicit despicitque. Mox zothecula refugit quasi in cubiculum idem

A small alcove at the back of the room is almost a separate chamber. It has a bed, and though there are windows on
39 every side still the light is subdued, for every window is shaded most delightfully by a vine which completely covers the outside clear to the roof. It is exactly like sleeping in the woods except that you are completely protected from
40 the rain. Another fountain plays outside. Then there are marble seats placed at intervals which offer as pleasant a rest to those wearied by walking as does the chamber with its couch. There are more fountains around the benches which all feed rivulets flowing down through the park, following a course artificially laid out and varied so as to water one or another part of the garden and sometimes all of it at once.

41 I should long since have stopped for fear of becoming tedious if I had not set out in my letter to take you into every corner of my house. I was not afraid that you would grow weary in reading what it could not have tired you to visit, especially as you could rest whenever you wished and by merely laying aside the letter you could sit down, as it were, as often as you chose. Furthermore, I have indulged in the luxury of praising something that delights me, for I especially love anything that I have been responsible

atque aliud. Lectus hic et undique fenestrae, et tamen lumen obscurum
39 umbra premente. Nam laetissima vitis per omne tectum in culmen nititur et ascendit. Non secus ibi quam in nemore iaceas, imbrem
40 tantum tamquam in nemore non sentias. Hic quoque fons nascitur simulque subducitur. Sunt locis pluribus disposita sedilia e marmore, quae ambulatione fessos ut cubiculum ipsum iuvant. Fonticuli sedilibus adiacent; per totum hippodromum inducti fistulis strepunt rivi et, qua manus duxit, secuntur: his nunc illa viridia, nunc haec, interdum simul omnia lavantur.

41 Vitassem iam dudum, ne viderer argutior, nisi proposuissem omnes angulos tecum epistula circumire. Neque enim verebar, ne laboriosum esset legenti tibi, quod visenti non fuisset, praesertim cum interquiescere, si liberet, depositaque epistula quasi residere saepius posses. Praeterea indulsi amori meo; amo enim quae maxima ex

42 in beginning or successful in finishing. In fine—why should I not tell you what I think, even if I am wrong—it seems to me that the chief duty of a writer is, after a careful consideration of the scope of his subject, to see that he confines himself to it and that even if his piece should turn out to be somewhat longer than he had expected, not to conclude that it is too long if it contains no extraneous
43 matter. Just consider how many lines Homer and Vergil take to describe the armor of Achilles and of Aeneas, but they are really brief because each has done only what he set out to do. Again, consider how minutely Aratus discusses and collates the stars—still he keeps within the bounds of his subject, and it is not therefore his account
44 that is long, but the subject of it. So, likewise, to compare small things to great, if we attempt to present the whole villa before your eyes and if we add nothing to the straightforward account, you must consider that it is not the letter which is extended but the villa which it describes.

But now I am afraid that I shall transgress the laws I
45 have myself laid down if I continue. You can readily understand however why I prefer my Tuscan villa to any of my others—those at Tusculum, Tibur or Praeneste. For

42 parte ipse inchoavi aut inchoata percolui. In summa (cur enim non aperiam tibi vel iudicium meum vel errorem?) primum ego officium scriptoris existimo, ut titulum suum legat atque identidem interroget se, quid coeperit scribere, sciatque, si materiae inmoratur, non esse
43 longum, longissimum, si aliquid accersit atque attrahit. Vides, quot versibus Homerus, quot Vergilius arma, hic Aeneae, Achillis ille, describat; brevis tamen uterque est, quia facit, quod instituit. Vides, ut Aratus minutissima etiam sidera consectetur et colligat; modum tamen servat. Non enim excursus hic eius, sed opus ipsum est.
44 Similiter nos, ut p a r v a m a g n i s, cum totam villam oculis tuis subicere conamur, si nihil inductum et quasi devium loquimur, non epistula, quae describit, sed villa, quae describitur, magna est.

Verum illuc, unde coepi, ne secundum legem meam iure reprehendar,
45 si longior fuero in hoc, in quod excessi. Habes causas, cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis, Tiburtinis Praenestinisque meis praeponam. Nam super illa, quae rettuli, altius ibi otium et pinguius eoque securius:

besides the attractions which I have mentioned the greatest is the solid comfort of the place—nobody needs to bother to dress, the neighbors do not come to call, it is always quiet and peaceful—advantages as great as the healthful situation and good air. I always feel energetic and fit for anything at my Tuscan villa, both mentally and physically. I exercise my mind by study, my body by hunting. My
46 household too flourishes better here than elsewhere: I have never lost a slave, none of those I brought up with me, anyway, if you will pardon my mentioning it. May the gods thus continue to bless me and my house!

Yours ever,

SECUNDUS.

nulla necessitas togae, nemo accersitor ex proximo; placida omnia et quiescentia, quod ipsum salubritati regionis ut purius caelum, ut aër liquidior accedit. Ibi animo, ibi corpore maxime valeo. Nam
46 studiis animum, venatu corpus exerceo. Mei quoque nusquam salubrius degunt; usque adhuc certe neminem ex iis, quos eduxeram mecum, (venia sit dicto) ibi amisi. Di modo in posterum hoc mihi gaudium, hanc gloriam loco servent. Vale.

PART II

THE ROMAN VILLA BEFORE PLINY'S TIME

THE ROMAN VILLA BEFORE PLINY'S TIME

Paley, in the article on Pliny the Younger in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th Edition, characterizes these two letters on his villas as "almost the sole authority on the difficult subject of Roman houses." This too in spite of the fact that five Latin authors, namely Cato, Varro, Vitruvius, Columella and Palladius, have left us descriptions of houses and rules for building them. First came Cato the Censor (234–149 B.C.) who in the intervals of leisure allowed him by the affairs of the Republic cultivated his estates in the Sabine hills and wrote a book on Domestic Economy for country estates, De Re Rustica, a hodge-podge of everything from philosophical reflections to recipes for cooking.

Cato begins his treatise with advice about the location of an estate.[24] It should, if possible, be at the foot of a mountain, facing south, in a healthful situation, with good water, near the sea or a navigable river of some reputation. There should be in the neighborhood, he recommends, vineyards, fields, woods and forests.

M. Terentius Varro, whom Cicero considered the most learned of the Romans, wrote a book on agriculture, De Re Rustica, about 36 B.C., in which he describes a villa[25] and garden with a dining room in and around a little lake or pond.

Vitruvius, the architect who lived in the time of Augustus, and who wrote the authoritative book on architecture, De Architectura, in which he lays down the law covering every detail of building, we shall have occasion to consider a little later.

Columella, born in Spain in the reign of Augustus or of

[24] Cato, R.R. I. 1.

[25] Varro, R.R. III. 5.

Tiberius, spent most of his life in Rome. In his book on agriculture, De Re Rustica, he says that if fortune gave ear to his prayers he would pick out the site of his house[26] in a healthful climate, partly in the plains and partly on the slope of a hill, slightly turned to face the east or the south. It should have arable fields and woods and unworked land; it should be near the sea or a navigable river to facilitate the export of products and the import of necessities.

The date of Palladius is so uncertain—he lived probably towards the end of the fourth century A.D.—that we might well disregard him entirely, especially as his work is only a review of what his four predecessors have said, except that he is one of the group of authors generally studied for a knowledge of the Roman villa.

One might suppose that the descriptions of these five writers would vary considerably on account of the difference in time represented by them, but such is not the case.

Of all the Latin authors Cato and Varro are oftenest copied. Vitruvius sometimes completes their statements, though most of the time he merely repeats what they say. Columella borrows largely from Vitruvius, and Palladius is only a review of them all. If one studies them all, one may obtain a fairly good idea of the Roman villa.

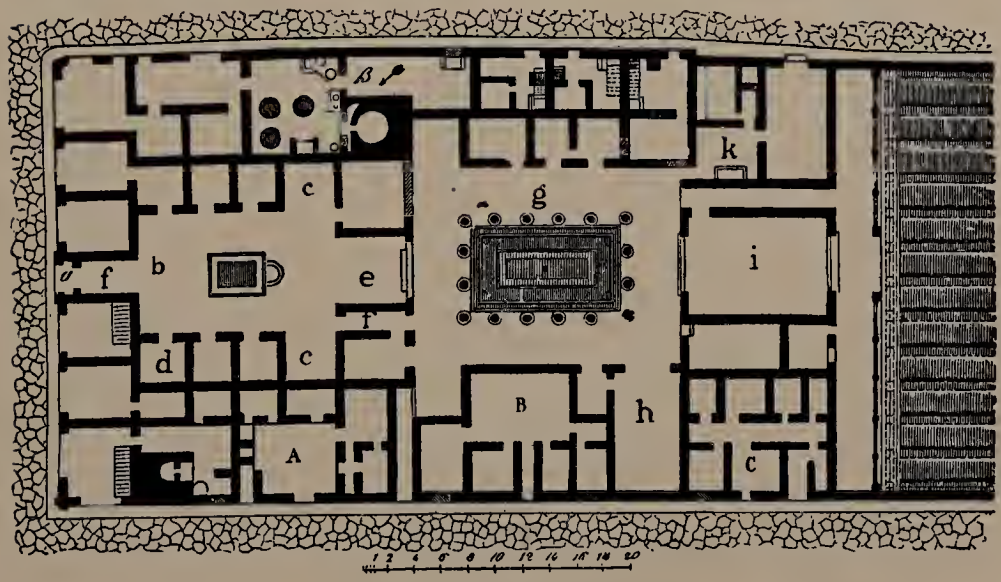
Vitruvius compiled a *corpus architecturae* as a gift to the world, as he explains in the preface to Book VI., which treats of private dwellings. In the first place, he thought it incumbent upon him, since he was so fortunate as to possess this knowledge by virtue of his professional training, and since, furthermore, the head of a household who wished to build a house could not be expected to take a course in architecture before beginning operations, and would be at the mercy of any half taught enterprising man who chose to advise him. With Vitruvius' book, compiled from the best and most reliable sources and em-

[26] Columella, R.R. I. 2.

bodying the fruits of experience as a guide, he would be perfectly safe.

It will be interesting to follow some of the rules laid down by Vitruvius in order to understand what knowledge may be presupposed in the men who read Pliny's letters and attempted to reconstruct his villas.

He begins by giving the proportions of the ordinary rooms of a Roman house: atrium, alae, tablinum, fauces, peristylium, triclinia (dining rooms), oeci (drawing rooms). The following diagram, taken from one of the houses excavated at Pompeii,[27] will give an idea of the relative positions of the rooms:



NORMAL ROMAN HOUSE[28]

a. Vestibulum
b. Atrium
c. Alae
d. Cubiculum
e. Tablinum
f. Fauces
g. Peristylium
h. Triclinium
i. Oecus
k. Culina (kitchen)
A, B, and C. Suites and shops for renting out
β. Bake shop and mill

[27] Casa di Pansa, discovered in 1811; excavated 1813–14.

[28] Johannes Overbeck, Pompeji in Seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken dargestellt von. 4th Ed. Leipzig, 1884, fig. 172.

Vitruvius calls it the atrium or *cavum aedium* (we have cavaedium in Pliny); he names five kinds: Tuscan, Corinthian, Tetrastyle, Displuviate and Testudinate, according as they have pillars supporting the beams of the roof or not. The proportion of the width[29] to the length is 3 to 5 or 2 to 3, or it may be the sides of a square, in which case the length equals the diagonal. The height is one quarter of the width, counted from under the cross beams. Arches etc. are extra, in proportion.

The alae[30] are at right and left of the atrium; they are from 1/3 to 1/5 the length of the atrium, according as the atrium is from 30 to 40 or from 80 to 100 feet long, in five different combinations. The width of the alae determines the height of the doorway, which it equals.

The tablinum[31] is 2/3 or 1/3 the width of the atrium, according as the latter is from 20 to 60 feet wide.

The fauces[32] or passage (leading from the atrium to the peristyle or from the vestibule to the atrium) is 1/3 or 1/2 the width of the tablinum.

The doors of the atrium are in proportion to the height of the room: 1/4 to 1/3 the width of the atrium in proportion to the height.

The peristyle[33] is transversely 1/3 more than the length; the columns are as tall as the width of the porticoes; the spaces between are not less than three nor more than four times the thickness of the columns.

The triclinium[34] should be twice as long as it is wide.

As for the height of the rooms, it should be half the sum of the length and breadth for oblong rooms; for square rooms (oeci) or exedrae, the sum of the width and half again as much gives the height.

The oeci[35] may vary in style and differ in details. There

[29] Vitruvius, De Architectura, VI. 3.
[30] Ibid., VI. 4, 1–7.
[31] Ibid., VI. 4, 8–15.
[32] Ibid., VI. 4, 16–20.
[33] Ibid., VI. 4, 21–24.
[34] Ibid., VI. 5, 1–3.
[35] Ibid., VI. 5, 5.

are Corinthian, tetrastyle, Egyptian and Cyzicene. The Egyptian, for instance, have an upper story of columns, clerestories. The Cyzicene face north overlooking a green, and have folding doors in the centre; they are long and wide enough to admit two groups of dining couches (triclinia) with their passage ways facing each other. At right and left they have transparent windows like swinging doors, so arranged that there is a view of the green. The height is the width plus half the width.

Regarding the exposure[36] of the rooms, there are two considerations, health and comfort. Winter dining rooms and baths should face west in order to get the afternoon sun for light and also for warmth; cubicula (mostly bed rooms) and libraries should face east so as to have the morning sun and, in the latter case, in order to keep the books from decaying.

Spring and autumn dining rooms should also face the east in order that they may be cool by the time they are wanted for use. Summer dining rooms[37] should face north; they will then never receive the warm sun and the rooms will always be cool and pleasant and healthful.

The next question in importance[38] is as to the position and use of the various parts of the house: the place for the private rooms and apartments for the master and also the public rooms, as it is not proper for anybody outside the family to go into the private rooms without being invited. The private rooms are the bed rooms, the dining rooms, the baths, etc.; the public, the vestibula, cava aedia and peristylia. In city houses the atria should be close to the doors, but in the country the room immediately beyond the entrance hall is the peristyle leading into atria with paved porticoes overlooking courts and promenades.

The rooms should be elegant or useful according to the uses they are to be put to and also according to the position and requirements of the owner.

[36] Vitruvius, De Architectura, VI. 6, 1.
[37] Ibid., VI. 6, 6.
[38] Ibid., VI. 6, 7.

CASTELL'S STANDARD ROMAN VILLA

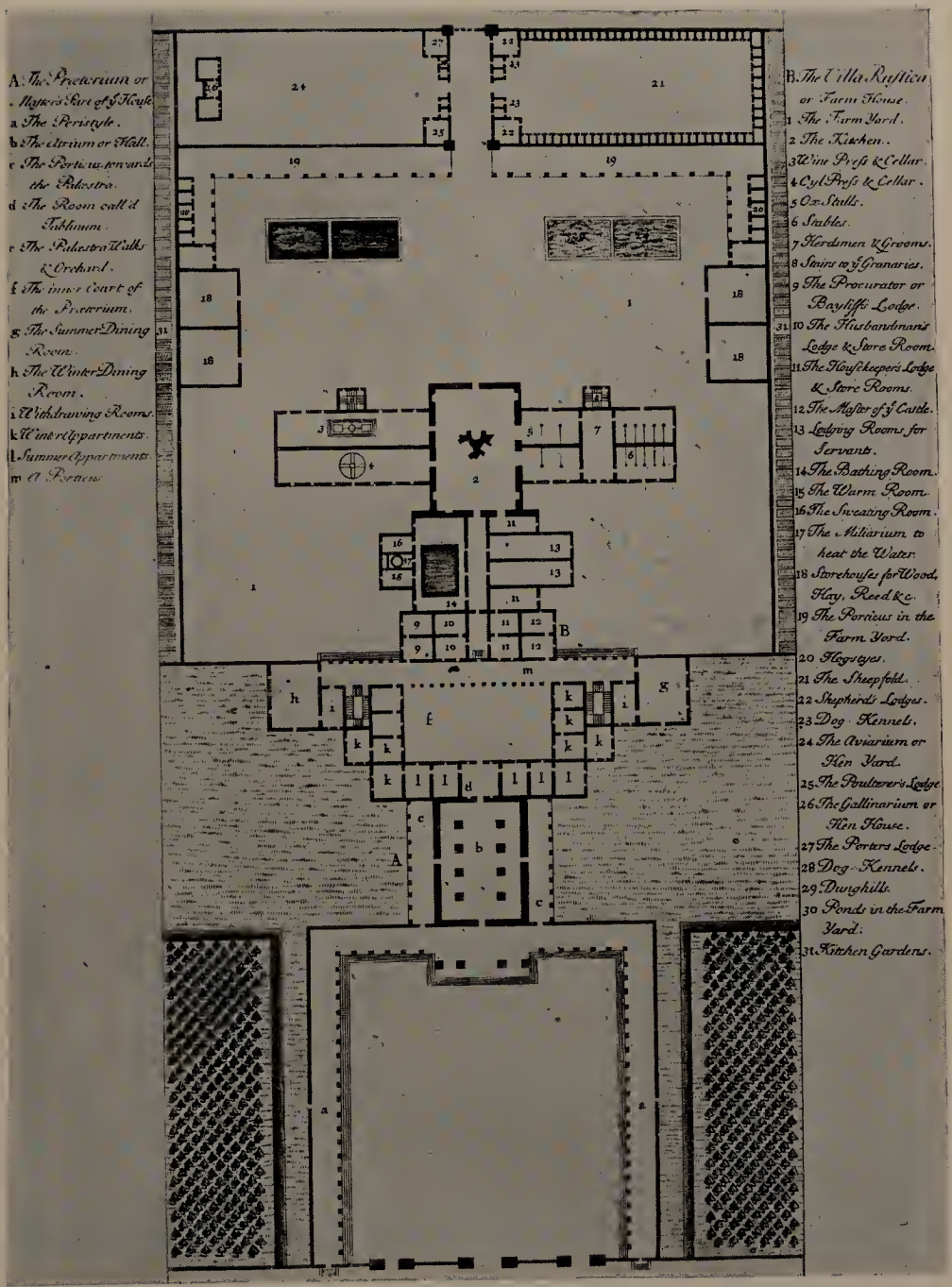
(Plate 2)

LEGEND [39]

A. Praetorium, forward part, Master's part of the house.
- a. The peristyle
- b. The atrium, or hall
- c. The porticus, towards the palaestra
- d. The tablinum
- e. The palaestra, walks and orchard
- f. The inner court of the praetorium
- g. The summer dining room
- h. The winter dining room
- i. Withdrawing rooms
- k. Winter apartments
- l. Summer apartments
- m. A porticus

B. Rear part, The Villa Rustica or farm house.
1. The farm yard
2. The kitchen
3. Wine press and cellar
4. Oil press and cellar
5. Ox stalls
6. Stables
7. Herdsmen and grooms
8. Stairs to the granaries
9. The procurator or bailiff's lodge
10. The husbandman's lodge and store room
11. The housekeeper's lodge and store room
12. The master of the cattle
13. Lodging room for servants
14. The bathing room
15. The warm room
16. The sweating room
17. The miliarium to heat the water
18. Storehouses for wood, hay, reed etc.
19. The porticus in the farm yard
20. Hogstyes
21. The sheepfold
22. Shepherd's lodges
23. Dog kennels
24. The aviarium or hen yard
25. The poulterer's lodge
26. The gallinarium or hen house
27. The porter's lodge
28. Dog kennels
29. Dunghills
30. Ponds in the farm yard
31. Kitchen gardens

[39] Robert Castell, The Villas of the Ancients, London, 1728.



STANDARD ROMAN VILLA, BASED ON VITRUVIUS. Castell, 1728

A, forward part. Master's part of house.
B, rear part. Villa Rustica

On country estates additional buildings are required to take care of the animals and for various activities. These include a kitchen, which should be in a warm place; the baths nearby for economy of fuel in heating the warm rooms and water for the warm baths; stables for cattle and horses, for goats and sheep; presses and cellars for oil and for wine, a granary, etc.

We reproduce two reconstructions drawn according to the prescriptions laid down by Vitruvius, one by Castell in Villas of the Ancients, published in 1728, and the other by the Italian Canina in his Architettura Antica, published in Rome in 1840. It is interesting to note that while Castell (plate 2) puts into his villa not only all the rooms mentioned by Vitruvius but also most of the others that would be found in a villa suburbana, Canina (plate 3) puts into his only such as are mentioned by Vitruvius.

One of the modern interpreters of Vitruvius, the French architect Auguste Choisy, has observed, he says, that in placing cities the ancients avoided full north and full south and that the streets were made to incline accordingly away from the cardinal points of the compass. When Vitruvius says north we must therefore understand a direction inclining 22° to the west.

Choisy says further that in regard to the making of reconstructions the simplest method is to sort out the various parts of the house according to the cardinal points of the compass they ought to face on the four sides of the interior courts, since in warm countries the courts are bordered by porticoes and colonnades and communication between various parts of the house is effected by means of them.

Another point made by Choisy is that Vitruvius describes the distribution of rooms according to the typical plan which he no doubt had before him as he wrote and that when he mentions a room he gives the orientation. So the typical plans are not difficult to reconstruct.

It seems fair to suppose that Pliny, like all other Romans, was familiar with these accepted rules for building and that

those portions of his houses which he does not mention or describe were all built and placed according to rule. Castell, on this assumption, has indicated such rooms in his reconstruction of the Laurentine villa, and Félibien likewise in his reconstruction indicated the dimensions and extent of the buildings occupied by Pliny's slaves and freedmen, to correspond with the various dimensions which Pliny did mention, though in regard to these rooms Pliny did not mention them.

Félibien remarks on the letter on the Laurentine villa that while this letter is usually read for what he calls its eloquence rather than as a description, still it is true that the villa is described so exactly that even the dimensions of each principal part of the buildings are in some way determined by the comparison of every part with the others and by the necessity of preserving all the views, the advantages and the conveniences which Pliny assigns to them.

Edouard André, in l'Art des Jardins, says in the first part of his book, Essai Historique, that the villas of Pliny at Laurentum and in Tuscany appear to be the most complete inheritance that ancient Italy has left the world in the matter of gardens, and Helbig[40] after studying the wall paintings in the south of Italy declared that he considered a comparison between the landscape paintings and the descriptions in Pliny's letters most instructive. He could find in the letters, he said, illustrations for almost every different aspect of situation and external architecture found in the wall paintings.

The illustrations in Plate 4, taken from Roman wall paintings of country houses and gardens, will give us an opportunity to compare the impression made on us by Pliny's descriptions and by the many examples of pictures we know the Romans loved to contemplate.

Bouchet,[41] speaking of our knowledge of ancient Roman

[40] Wolfgang Helbig, Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei. Leipzig, 1873, cap. XII. Die Landschaft.

[41] Jules Bouchet, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul. Paris, 1852.

CANINA'S STANDARD ROMAN VILLA

(Plate 3)

LEGEND [42]

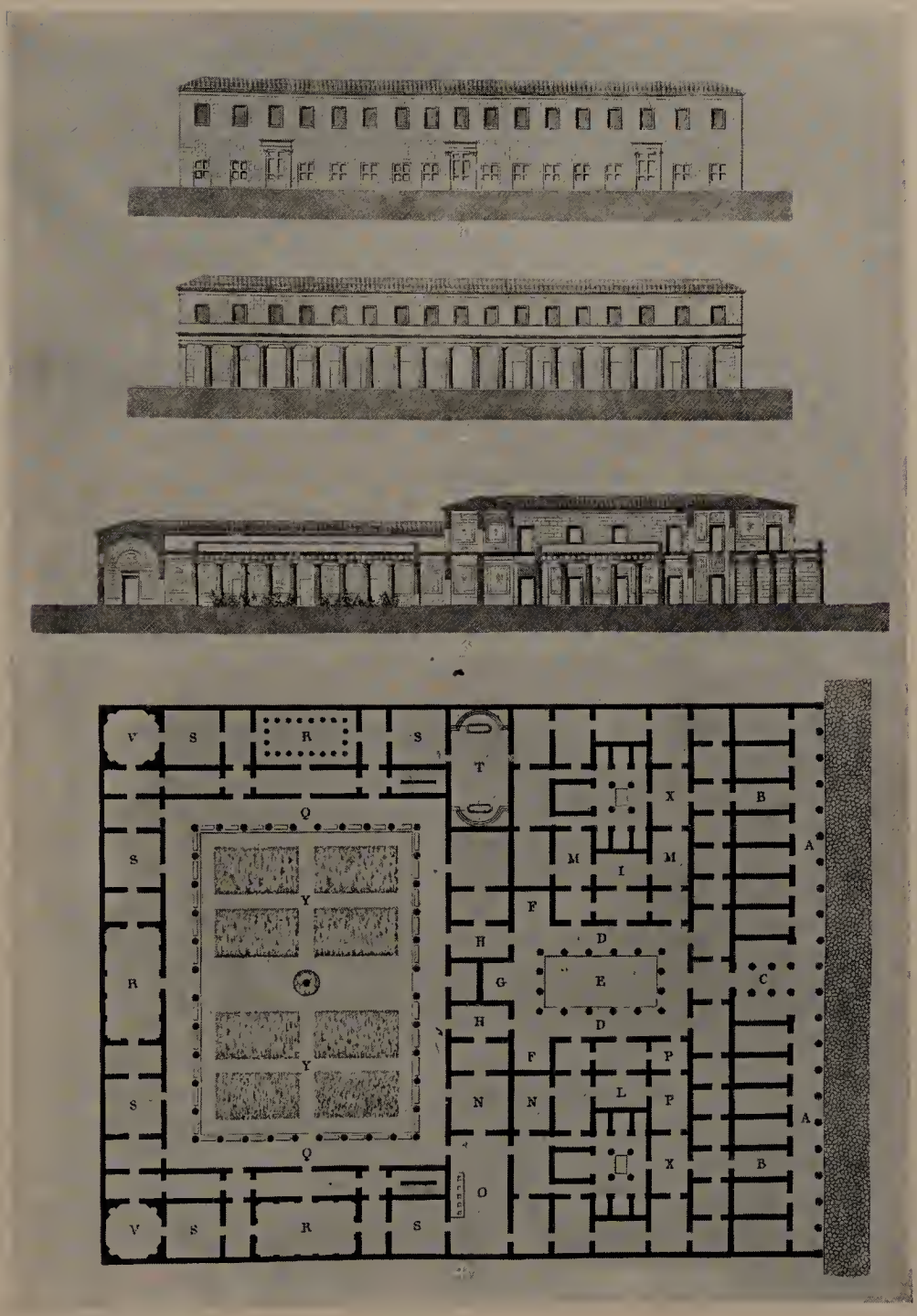
1. Elevation, without columns
2. Elevation, showing porticus
3. Longitudinal section, through ACEGR of plan
4. Plan of house

Legend of plan

A. Porticus corresponding to street side
B. Shops opening on A
C. Principal vestibule of house
D. Atrium (Corinthian)
E. Impluvium
F. Alae
G. Tablinum
H. Fauces (passages)
O. Kitchen
Q. Peristyle
R. Oeci
S. Cubicula (with ante rooms)
T. Bath rooms
V. Triclinia
Y. Gardens

(Rooms not accounted for in the legend are not necessarily found in all houses.)

[42] Luigi Canina, Architettura Antica, Roma, 1840. Sez. III., pt. III., cap. XIV., tav. CCXXXI.



STANDARD ROMAN VILLA, BASED ON VITRUVIUS. Canina, 1840

villas, says: "Vitruve et Pline-le-Jeune sont les deux auteurs qui nous ont donné les indications les plus précises; l'un dans son Traité de l'Architecture, l'autre dans les descriptions qu'il nous a laissées de ses deux villas de Laurente et de Toscane, descriptions faites avec toute la minutieuse complaisance d'un homme amoureux de ce qu'il possède. . . . Pline se délecte à promener pour ainsi dire son lecteur par la main de cour en cour, de chambre en chambre."

C. C. L. Hirschfeld[43] in a discussion on landscape gardening, after mentioning many Romans who loved to go to their country estates, continues as follows: "Horaz hat davon verschiedene bilder, aber die gemaelde des Plinius von seinem Laurentin und Tusci verdunkeln fast alles was das alterthum von dieser seite ruehmt." Then he speaks about the varied landscape "und zum glueck ward er von einem geist bewohnt der seine annehmlichkeiten zu fuehlen faehig war."

Gierig[44] was a student of Pliny who admired the villas without being moved to make a reconstruction. His remarks are interesting. He says: "It is by no means an easy task to describe a lot of rooms and other parts of a house—a dry enough subject in all conscience—in such a way that the reader will follow the description with much pleasure as he does here. . . . But so far from having used up his talents in describing the Laurentine villa Pliny paints a word picture of the Tuscan villa including the whole district in which the house was situated."

Pietro Marquez[45] made a special study of these villas, including reconstructions which we reproduce and his judgment of Pliny's work is therefore worth noting. He characterizes it as "un pezzo di squisita eloquenza sopra assai difficile materia."

[43] Christian C. L. Hirschfeld, Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst. Leipzig, 1773. (Especially chaps. 1 and 2.)

[44] Gottlieb Erdmann Gierig, Leben, Moralischer Character und Schriftstellerischer Werth des Jüngern Plinius. Dortmund, 1798.

[45] Pietro Marquez, Delle Ville di Plinio il Giovane. Rome, 1796.

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6

ROMAN WALL PAINTINGS OF COUNTRY HOUSES AND GARDENS

We must remember that while there are many references to country estates and to town houses to be found scattered throughout Latin literature, we have no connected description even of parts of houses before these two in the letters of Pliny. Architects, archaeologists and even landscape gardeners have alike been tempted to reconstruct the houses which Pliny took such pleasure in building, though the Laurentine has been attempted oftener than the Tuscan.

PART III

RECONSTRUCTIONS

LAURENTINE VILLA

Legend

This legend applies to all reproductions of the Laurentine Villa.

1. Atrium (4)	1. Atrium
2. Porticus in D litterae similitudinem circumactae	2. Colonnades forming a D
3. Area parvula sed festiva	3. Small pleasant retreat
4. Cavaedium hilare (5)	4. Ante room
5. Triclinium satis pulchrum	5. Dining room
6. Cubiculum amplum (6)	6. Large room
7. Cubiculum minus	7. Smaller room
8. Gymnasium (angulus) (7)	8. Gymnasium
9. Cubiculum in hapsida curvatum (8)	9. Room with a bay window
10. Dormitorium membrum (9)	10. Bedroom
11. Transitus interiacens	11. Passage
12. Reliqua pars lateris huius	12. Rest of this side of house
13. Cubiculum politissimum (10)	13. Charming room
14. Cubiculum vel cenatio	14. Large room or dining room
15. Cubiculum cum procoetone	15. Room with anteroom
16. Procoeton	16. Anteroom
17. Aliud cubiculum	17. Another room with anteroom
18. Procoeton	18. Anteroom
19. Cella frigidaria *balinei* (a) Duo baptisteria (11)	19. Bath rooms: cold room (a) Two plunge baths
20. Unctorium	20. Anointing room
21. Hypocauston	21. Hot room
22. Propnigeon	22. Steam room
23. Duae cellae	23. Two small rooms
24. Calida piscina	24. Swimming pool
25. Sphaeristerium	25. Ball court
26. Turris (12) (a) Diaetae duae (b) cenatio	26. Tower (a) two rooms (b) dining room
27. Turris alia (13 and 15) (a) cubiculum, (b) apotheca, (c) horreum, (d) triclinium, (e) duae diaetae	27. Another tower (a) chamber, (b) store room, (e) granary, (d) dining room, (e) two apartments
28. Hortus	28. Garden
29. Gestatio	29. Walk
30. Via tenera (15)	30. Shady path
31. Cryptoporticus (16)	31. Covered gallery
32. Xystus (17)	32. Terrace
33. Diaeta (amores Plini) (20–23): (a) heliocaminus, (b) zotheca, (c) cubiculum noctis et somni, (d) andron, (e) hypocauston, (f) procoeton, (g) cubiculum.	33. Favorite suite (a) solarium, (b) den, (c) bed chamber, (d) corridor, (e) furnace room, (f) anteroom, (g) chamber.

Numbers in parentheses indicate paragraphs in the Latin text, pages 7 ff.

RECONSTRUCTIONS

The reconstructions of these villas of Pliny are therefore interesting whether we regard them as a chapter in the history of architecture or merely as a proof of the hold that such things have on the minds of man.

Vincenzo Scamozzi, the celebrated Italian architect and the author of several works on architecture, was the first, in 1615, to attempt to reconstruct a villa from the description of Pliny; he was followed in 1699 by Félibien, Sieur Des Avaux et De Javercy, the French architect and historiographer, who had the advantage of being secretary to the French ambassador to Rome in 1647. Nearly thirty years later, in 1728, Robert Castell, in his Villas of the Ancients, drew not only the two villas of Pliny but also villas which closely followed the rules laid down by Vitruvius and the Roman Agronomes.

In 1760 Friedrich August Krubsacius, a professor in architecture in the Dresden Academy, drew his plans, closely following Pliny's words, as he takes pains to impress on his readers. The originals of his plans are now probably in the Royal Library at Dresden.

In 1796 Pietro Marquez, a Spaniard, made his reconstruction. In 1818 Vivaudier announced Pliny's Laurentine villa as the subject for the competitors in connection with the Grand Prix de Rome at the French Academy, "Concours d'Emulation," and Macquet, whom Bouchet in 1852 called "one of our foremost architects," and Normand both received a Prix d'Emulation.

In the Nineteenth Century the plans follow one another with comparative rapidity, and we have one in 1827 from Hirt, a German archaeologist who spent fourteen years in Italy and later taught archaeology in Berlin.

A French architect is next on our list, Haudebourt, who, in a book on the Laurentine villa, in 1838 collected and criticized the other plans, which he published together with his own conception of the villa.

In 1841 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a German architect with a great admiration for Roman antiquities, made his studies of Pliny.

Jules-Frédéric Bouchet, French architect, painter and engraver, who took the Grand Prix de Rome in 1822 and spent five years studying, measuring and copying the best works of antiquity on the spot, drew a reconstruction of the Laurentine villa as his last work in 1852.

Luigi Canina, architect and antiquarian, charged by the Pope to make some excavations in the Roman Campagna, came to Rome in 1829 for that purpose. He wrote many learned volumes on his discoveries which he illustrated with very fine plates, among them reconstructions of Pliny's villas in 1856.

In 1891, H. Winnefeld, in two articles in the Roemische Mittheilungen, sketched plans of the two villas, and in 1894 Herbert Magoun, Professor at Oberlin College, drew a plan of the Laurentine villa and presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association concerning the atrium of the Roman house.

Two plans of the Laurentine villa, bearing internal evidence of being contemporary, have existed since 1881 in the archives of the Department of Architecture of Columbia University. One was marked "J. W. Loring, 73 Mt. Vernon Street," the other, "J. G. S., Jr., Dec. 3, 1864," but there is not anything else to identify the authors nor to explain the reason for their making these plans. They are none the less interesting on that account, but it would be pleasant if we could find out something about them.

In 1859 Gustav Meyer, and in 1914 Marie Luise Gothein, in their respective books on landscape architecture, each included a plan of the Tuscan villa; and finally, in 1921,

after minutely examining all the other plans and finding that not one of them seemed to show all that Pliny intended to convey in his descriptions, I made a plan of each villa after the text.

The other reconstructions shown among our plates are those based on plans made by one or another of the men mentioned above.

The two villas are very unlike: the Laurentine was a long low house, situated in a low flat country; the Tuscan was on the slope of a hill near very high mountains.

The Tuscan villa is apparently not so well known as the Laurentine; and it seems to have been studied less often or at least with less intensity. Félibien was the first to publish a reconstruction of it. The others whose study of the Laurentine we also have are Castell, Krubsacius, Marquez, Hirt, Schinkel, Winnefeld and Tanzer. Of the ten reconstructions we reproduce, eight are drawn by persons who also made a study of the Laurentine, and the other two are by landscape specialists.

The reconstructions of the Tuscan Villa are much more elaborate than those of the Laurentine, whether the gardens are included or the house shown alone. There is also great diversity in the execution of the plans, so much so that the twenty-four different reconstructions of the Laurentine villa are less different from one another than are the ten studies of the Tuscan.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Professor Aitchison[45a] thought there was "such an absence of method (in Pliny's description) and such vagueness that any attempt to restore it is merely an exercise of the imagination." And nevertheless the Professor reproduced the reconstructions of Félibien, Castell and Marquez at his lectures at the Royal Academy.

[45a] Prof. Aitchison, Pliny the Younger's Laurentine and Tuscan Villas, 1890. (See Bibliography.)

SCAMOZZI'S PLAN

(Plate 5)

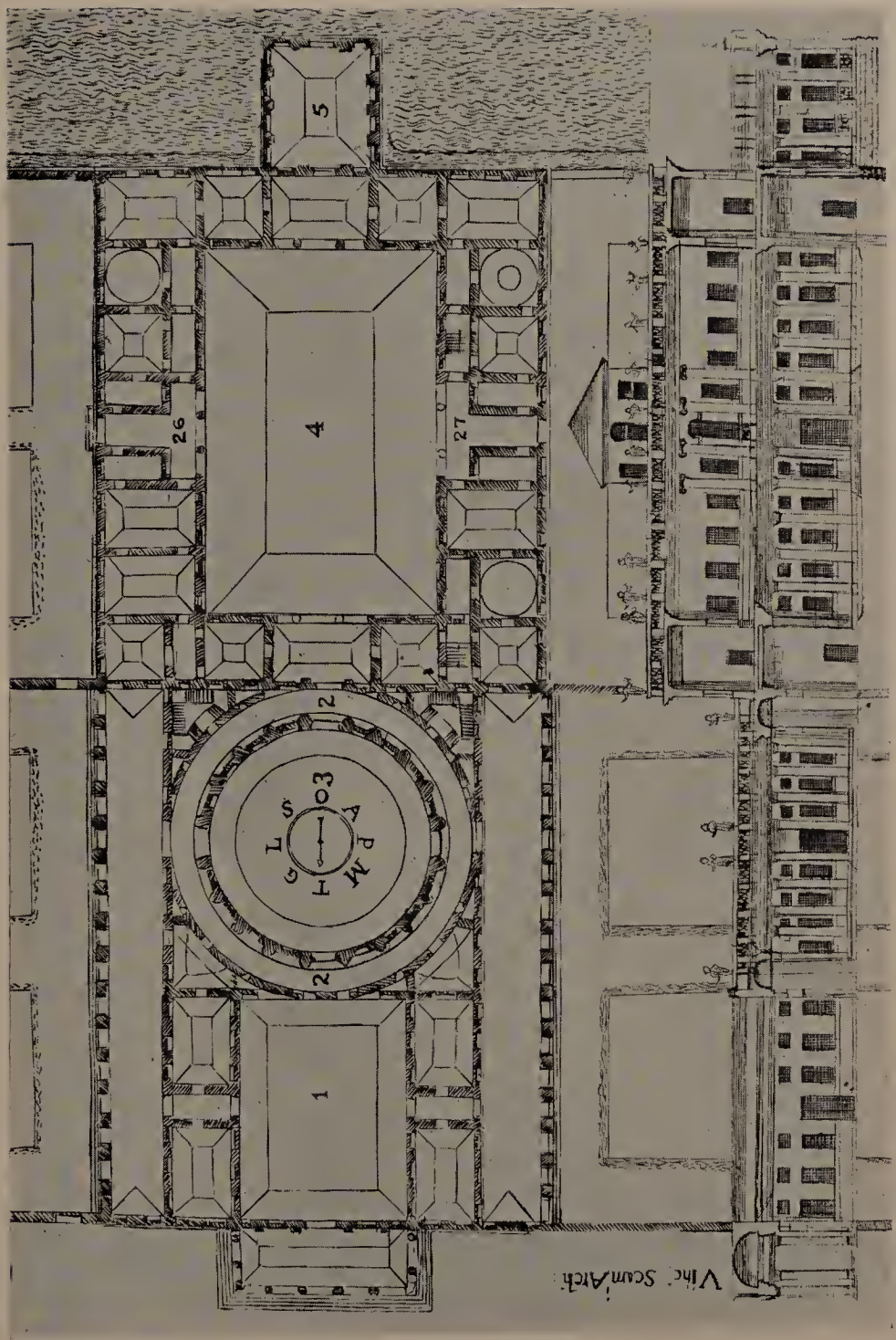
Vincenzo Scamozzi, in L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale,[46] described the Laurentine villa in detail, and mentioned each part with its dimensions, but in his reconstruction he put no marks at all. In indicating some of them in my reproduction, I have ventured to label only those that I was reasonably sure of, though Félibien[47] saw many more parts to identify and criticize than I could see. Félibien, writing in 1699, says, for instance, that it is evident that Scamozzi did not read Pliny carefully, as he puts windows on only one side of the cryptoporticus; and again that Scamozzi joins the cryptoporticus to the other buildings, while Pliny says that it separated the xystus from the other gardens and gave shade on both sides.

Bouchet[48] in 1852 pointed out that Scamozzi's reconstruction is the oldest that we know of—about fifteen centuries after the description was written. He thinks, further, that Scamozzi was the only Italian architect of the seventeenth century who published a reconstruction of the Laurentine villa. This reconstruction he considers infinitely superior to those of Félibien (Plates 6, 7) and of Marquez (Plate 12). He thinks also that Scamozzi made it easier for himself by suppressing the xystus and the "Casin des délices" (No. 33 on plan) and by putting in two lateral porticoes and making two cryptoporticuses of them, though Pliny mentions but one.

[46] Vincenzo Scamozzi, L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale. Venice, 1615. Pt. I., Lib. III., cap. XII., p. 266–269, del Laurentino di Plinio Cecilio.

[47] J. F. Félibien des Avaux, Les Plans et les Descriptions de deux des Plus Belles Maisons de Campagne de Pline le Consul. Amsterdam, 1706. (See Bibliography.)

[48] Jules Bouchet, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul. Paris, 1852.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN AND SECTION. Scamozzi, 1615

Dimensions as given by Scamozzi

Dimensions are all given in "spacii" (spaces) which he explains by saying that one *spacio* is equal to between ten and twelve feet. Now since a foot varied from time to time we can get only an idea of the relative sizes of the rooms, and not the actual dimensions.

Number on legend

1. Atrium—5 x 7 spacii.
2. "Round court" (shown as a circle)—9 spacii in diameter; stairs in the corners at s.e. and s.w. leading to an upper floor.
3. Enclosed area—1 spacio.
4. Ante room—11 x 7 spacii.
5. Dining room—4 x 3 spacii, with large windows like folding doors.

15 and 17. Rooms with anterooms—13 x 2 spacii.

16 and 18. Anterooms—2 spacii wide.

31. Portico (cryptoporticus)—16 x 2 spacii.

FÉLIBIEN'S PLANS
(Plates 6 and 7)

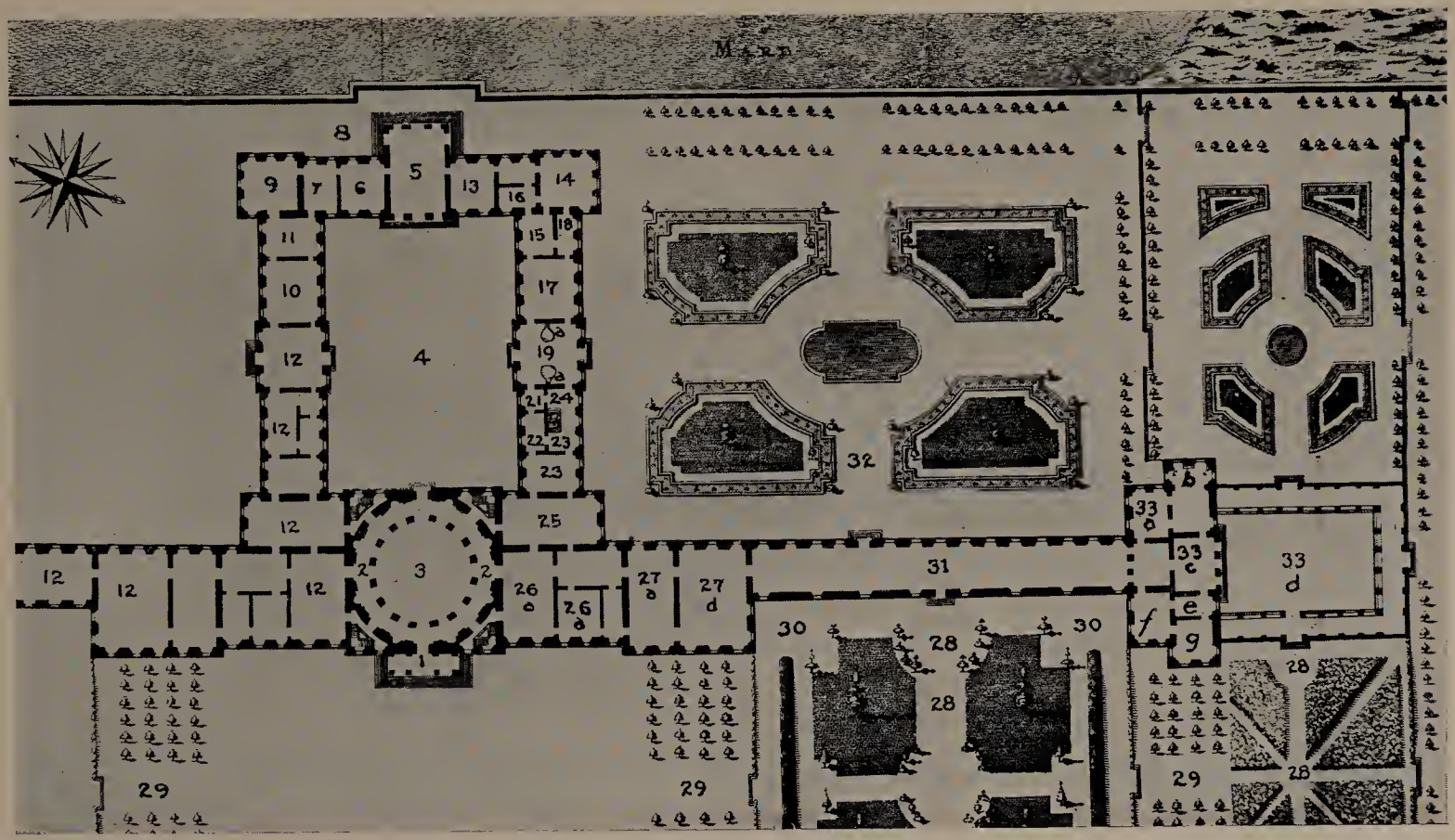
Though Félibien himself in Les Plans et Les Descriptions de Deux des Plus Belles Maisons de Campagne de Pline le Consul [49] expresses the opinion that there is nothing in Pliny's plans foreign to the method of living which was at all times practised in Italy but which differed so decidedly from that used in other countries "even from the method we use in France," Stieglitz,[50] in discussing ancient architecture criticizes Félibien for following his national architecture in his reconstruction rather than Pliny's description, which is the same criticism as he makes of Scamozzi's work.

Bouchet [51] also thinks that Félibien's study of this villa is too

[49] J. F. Félibien des Avaux, Les Plans et les Descriptions de deux des Plus Belles Maisons de Campagne de Pline le Consul. Amsterdam, 1706.

[50] Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, Archaeologie der Baukunst der Griechen und Römer, Weimar, 1801.

[51] Jules Bouchet, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul. Paris, 1852.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. Félibien, 1699

Plate 6

much in the style of Louis XIII, that is Félibien's own day, and not really ancient, though he does concede that he kept closer to Pliny's description than Scamozzi did; while Lemaire[52] in his notes to the Letters in 1822 says that Félibien followed his own ideas rather than Pliny's.

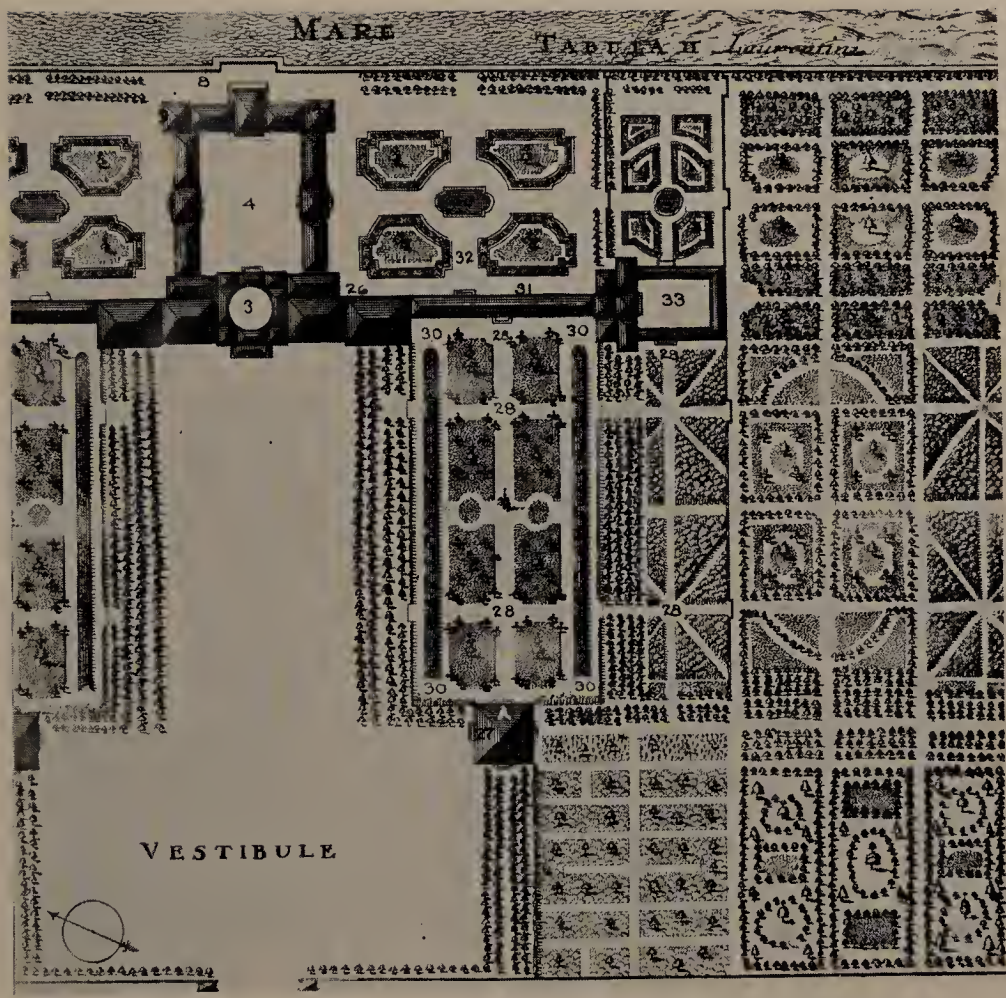
In Félibien's plan we notice that the porticus (No. 2) is shown as a circle, with stairs in the four corners; that instead of a passage way for No. 11 he has another room adjoining the bedroom (No. 10); that he makes the *cavaedium* (No. 4) a large open court, and that he misinterprets *andron* (No. 33d) which he translates "cour où il n'entre que des hommes," a men's court like the *andron* in the Greek house, which in Pliny's letter is clearly a passage way like the *fauces* in an ordinary Roman house.

The slaves' quarters (No. 12) which Pliny does not describe at all, and which on many of our plans are merely shown as filling up "the rest of that side of the house," Félibien has drawn to correspond to the rooms on the other side of the house which are described.

As for the two towers (Nos. 26 and 27) he is not only very much confused by the text—it is not an easy passage—but he even writes a note on the word *turris*. The Romans, he says, had only one word: *turris* for the French *tour* and *pavillon*. Tour (tower) was, he says used only for fortifications, and pavillon (pavilion, arbor, summer house) was used for country houses. He therefore makes a two story "pavillon" which he puts next to the colonnades (No. 2) with stairs in all four corners of the portico which would otherwise be wasted, he thinks. Scamozzi has stairs in two of these corners also. Into this "pavillon," which is much deeper than two rooms to a floor, he puts rooms belonging to the second tower. The second tower (No. 27) he puts into the n.e. corner of the entrance vestibule (Plate 7) in the garden.

Since it was to Félibien's book on Pliny's villa that the contestants for the Concours d'Emulation in 1818 were referred, it is no wonder that the prize winning drawings, Prix d'Emulation, (see plates 13-16) should show many features inspired by this reconstruction.

[52] Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Epistolarum . . . cum Varietate Lectionum. . . 2 vols. Paris, 1822.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN OF WHOLE ESTATE. Félibien, 1699

CASTELL'S PLANS

(Plates 8 and 9)

This plan of Robert Castell, which was made for the studies he called The Villas of the Ancients,[53] seems to me one of the most accurate. Cowan[54] (plate 33) and Heatley[55] (plate 34) acknowledge their obligation to Castell. Stieglitz[56] thinks that Castell and Krubsacius (plates 10, 11) followed Pliny's words more closely than Scamozzi or Félibien did, but still he believes that Pliny would never recognize his own villas in their drawings, and Lemaire[57] goes so far as to say that if some god were to conduct Pliny from the underworld to view Castell's reconstruction, while he might find much to approve, he would never recognize the villas as anything he had ever seen (much less built himself).

1. Very unlike an atrium, rather an entrance court.

2 is an ellipse. (Two D's)

25, the ball court, Castell does not leave open to the sky, since he uses it as the ground floor of the tower, 26. There is of course nothing in the text that necessitates making the towers symmetrical; Castell places the second tower where there is a good view of the entrance. He thinks that only the part above the ground floor is properly called *turris*.

26 a and b are separated from the part above 25.

The reason for giving Castell's two plans from two different aspects is that the whole estate is drawn with trees and shrubs which would have been quite spoiled if the sketch had been reversed. The names of the winds have been retained in the margins wherever possible.

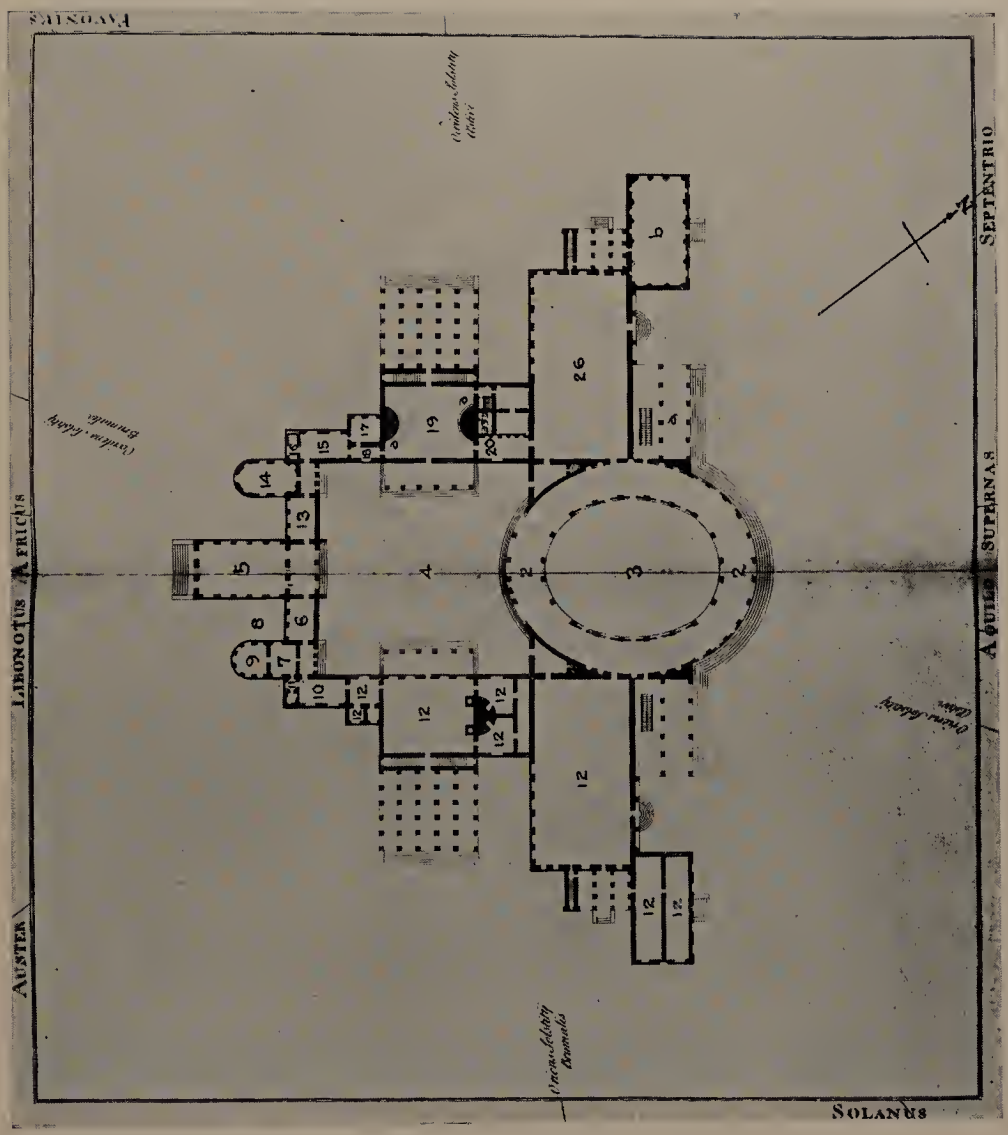
[53] Robert Castell, The Villas of the Ancients. London, 1728.

[54] James Cowan, Pliny's Letters Books I and II . . . edited by. London, 1889.

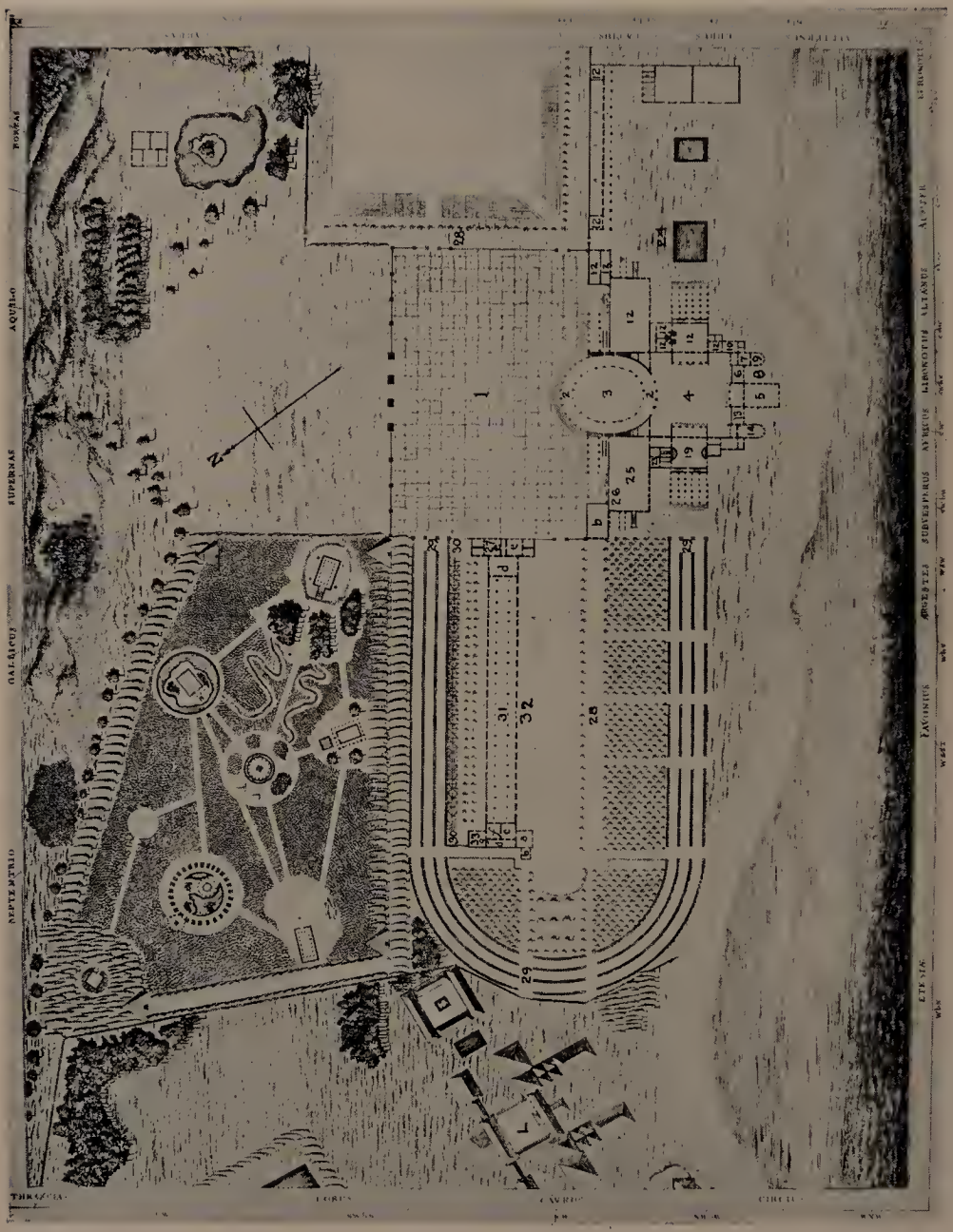
[55] Henry Richard Heatley, A Selection from Pliny's Letters. London, 1889

[56] Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, Archaeologie der Baukunst der Griechen und Römer, Weimar, 1801.

[57] Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Epistolarum . . . cum Varietate Lectionum. . . . 2 vols. Paris, 1822.

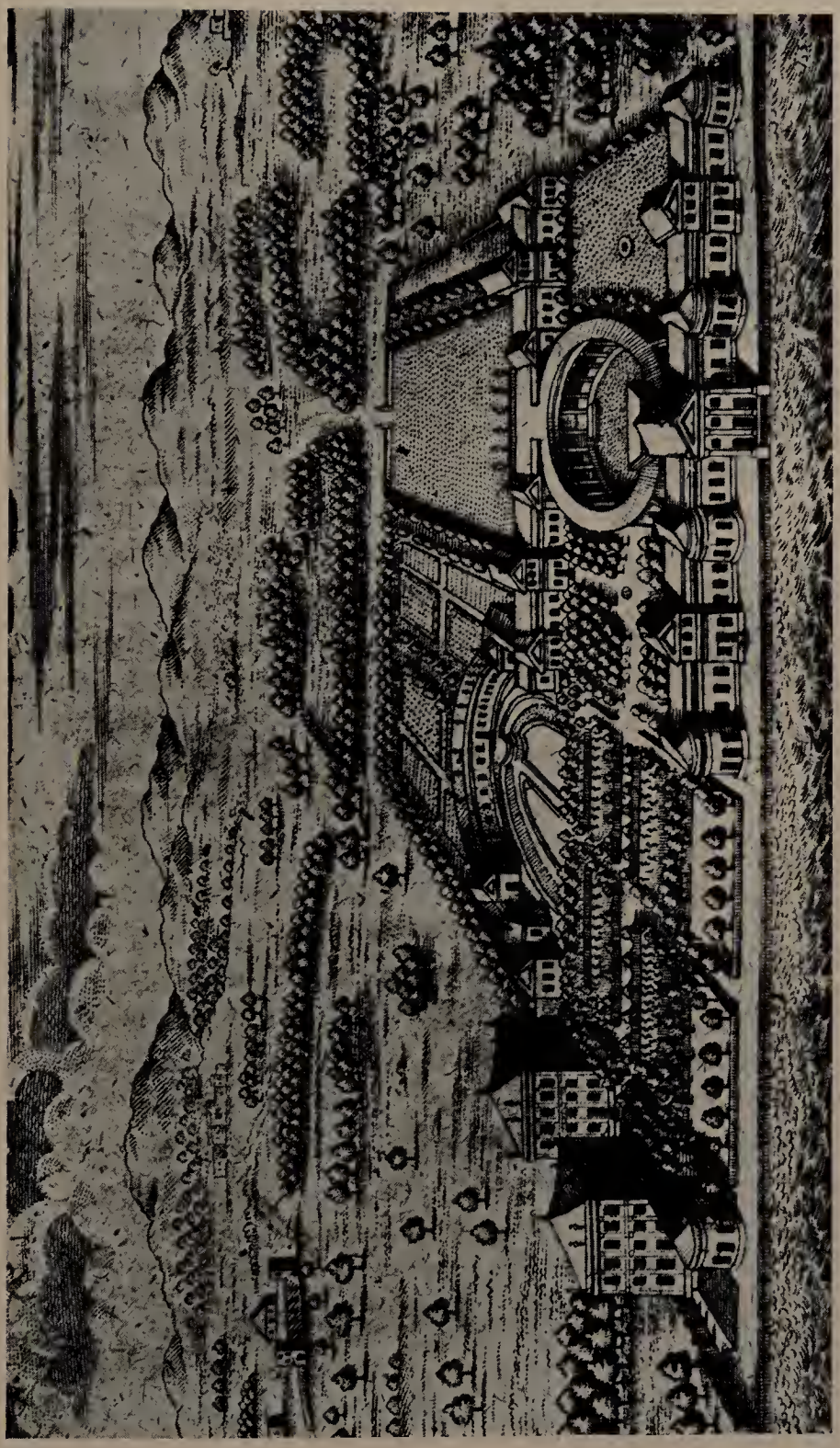


Laurentine Villa, Plan. Castell, 1728



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN OF WHOLE ESTATE. Castell, 1728

In Plate 9 the house marked L west of the villa is the neighboring estate mentioned in the text. We note the curve of the garden walk (29); many of these gardens have the shape of a *hippodrome.*



Laurentine Villa, Perspective. Krubsacius, 1760

KRUBSACIUS' PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE

(Plates 10 and 11)

Friedrich August Krubsacius, in Wahrscheinlicher Entwurf von des Jüngern Plinius Landhause, Laurens Genannt,[58] is by many considered to have been the best in his time, especially by C. L. Hirschfeld,[59] in his book on landscape gardening and country seats, in which he mentions Castell, Scamozzi, Félibien and Krubsacius, only to decide that Krubsacius is by far the best as being the most accurate. But whether Hirschfeld worked over the text for himself or took the vehement statement of Krubsacius together with the latter's sledge hammer criticisms of his predecessors as a guide, it is hard to say. Krubsacius was indeed fortunate to be able to admire his own work so unreservedly.

Krubsacius had before him the work of Félibien containing his own and Scamozzi's reconstructions, but he had not been able to get hold of Castell's, nor Parfait's[60] he says, though he wanted very much to see them, but then he consoles himself with the thought that he cannot be accused of having copied from them if he never saw them.

Krubsacius expresses surprise that the reconstructions of Félibien and Scamozzi are so unlike and is especially astonished that they are both so entirely different from his own.

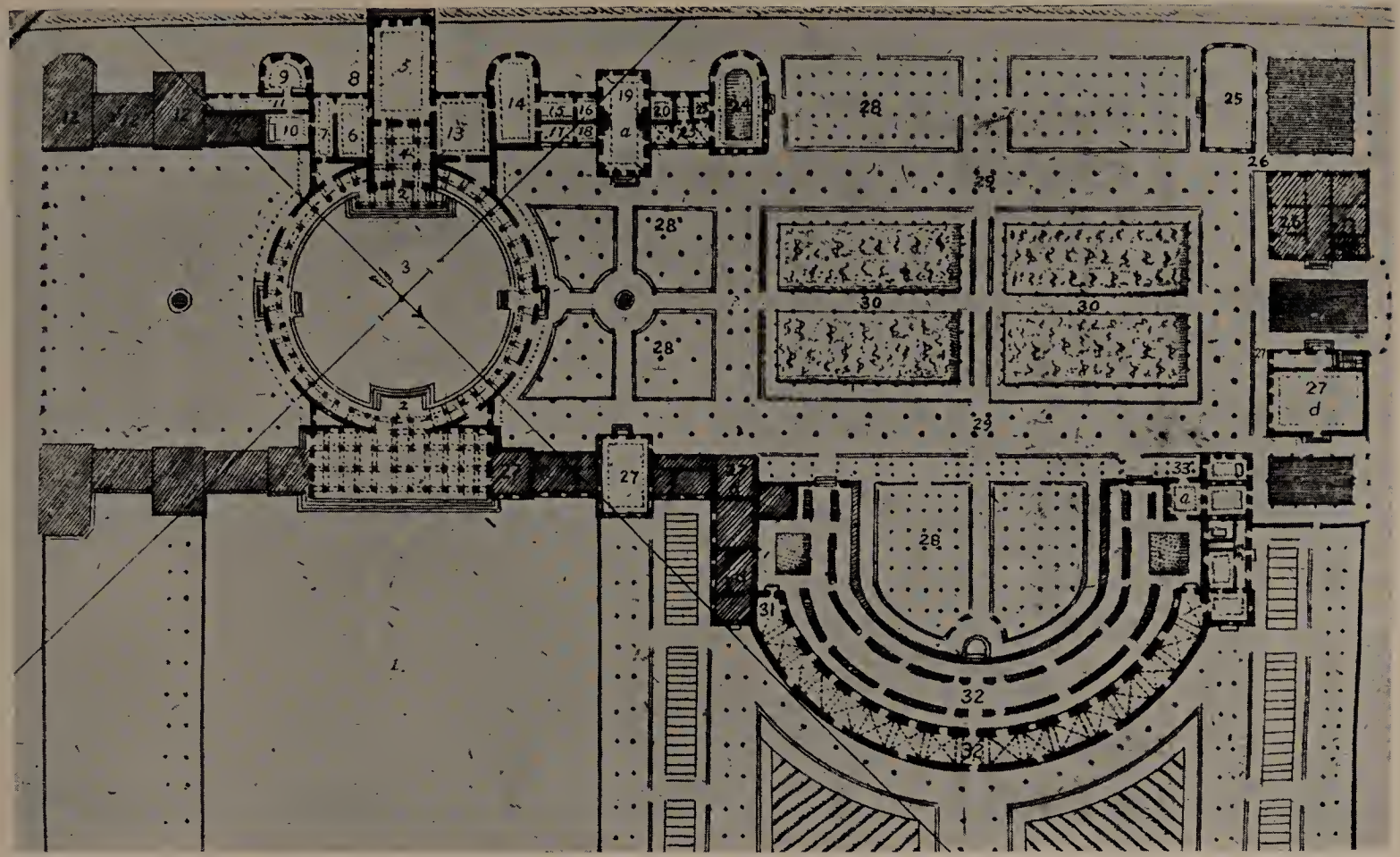
Krubsacius makes the same criticism of Félibien as the latter makes of Scamozzi, and as we find Stieglitz making of Félibien, namely that he was too much influenced by the national architecture with which he was most familiar.

Another point condemned by Krubsacius in both the plans he examined is the arrangement of the rooms, and what he considers the mistakes in translation from the Latin. For he

[58] Friedrich August Krubsacius, Wahrscheinlicher Entwurf von des Jüngern Plinius Landhause, Laurens Genannt. Leipzig, 1760. (See also Bibliography.)

[59] Christian C. L. Hirschfeld, Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst. Leipzig, 1773.

[60] See Bibliography under *Félibien*.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. Krubsacius, 1760

thinks that the translations correspond much more nearly to the reconstructions than they do to the words of Pliny's description. Then he gives his own to show how much better he can do it, and invites men of learning in all fields to judge his work, but he begs classical scholars to study the principles of architecture before criticizing him. He quotes Gesner extensively and thinks highly of him except that he warns his readers against Félibien even though Gesner[61] considers him the best of all.

1. Nothing like an atrium, and far too large.

2. Circular, but as he translates it as "D," we must suppose that he has two D's, or two semicircular corridors.

26 and 27, towers, he calls "hohes gebäude" not turm, by way of contrast with the single story of the rest of the house. He places his towers very much in the same position as Félibien's pavillons, and the dining room which ought to be in the second tower he puts out in the garden.

30. Krubsacius thinks that the shady path was planted with fig trees and that grape vines hung on the trees in festoons like those described in the Tuscan villa.

33 seems hardly private and quiet enough; 33b, zotheca, he calls "kabinet."

In regard to the size, Krubsacius mentions only that the first of the main rooms is 20 *ellen*, and that the rest are all in proportion.

The crosshatchings on the plan denote rooms which were no doubt in the house but which Pliny does not mention in detail. But among these Krubsacius includes the two "tall buildings" in the garden, without realizing that they belong under only two roofs and not scattered in different places (26 and 27).

In the perspective (Plate 10) Krubsacius did not intend to have buildings indicated in the background, but merely the woods. He complains bitterly that his editors took liberties with his draughtsman.

MARQUEZ' PLAN

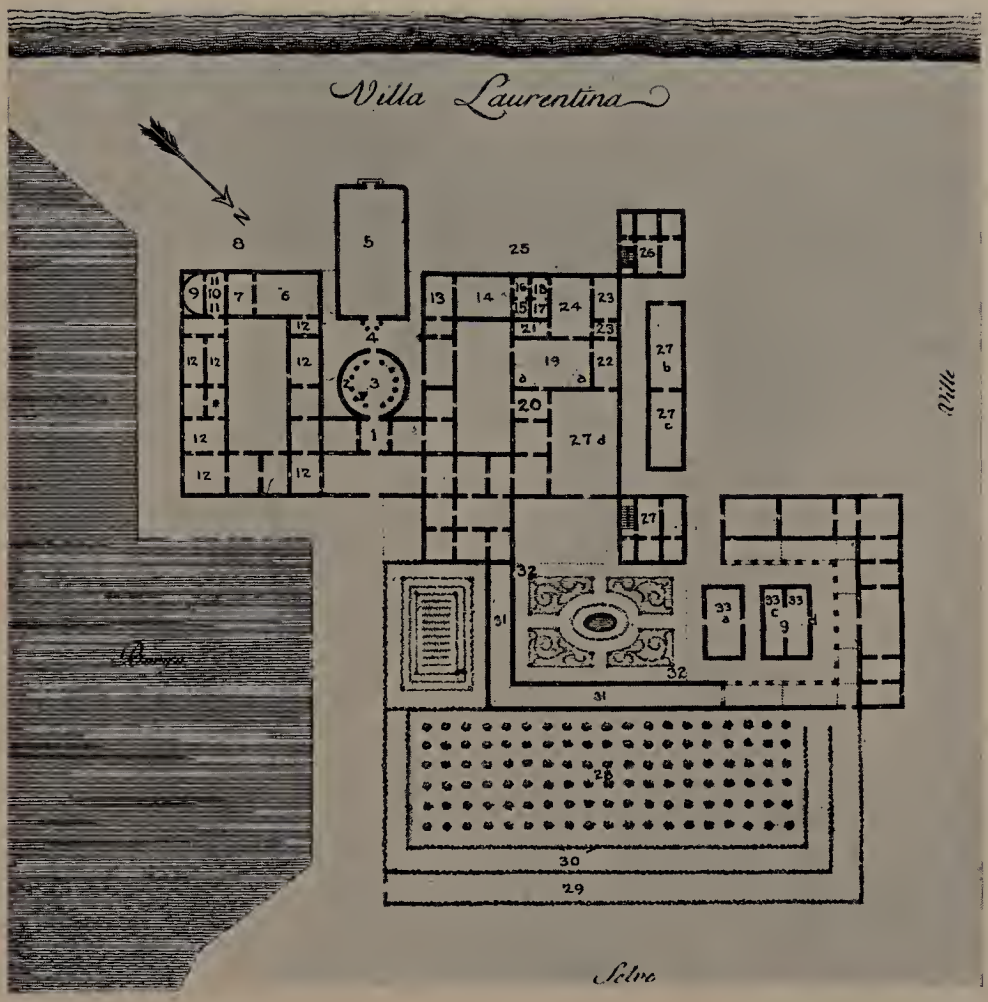
(Plate 12)

Marquez[62] executed this plan when so little was known about archaeology that Bouchet, writing in 1852, thought it was hardly

[61] Io. Matthias Gesner, quoted by Schaefer q.v. Bibliography.

[62] D. Pietro Marquez, Delle Ville di Plinio il Giovane. Rome, 1796.

PLATE 12



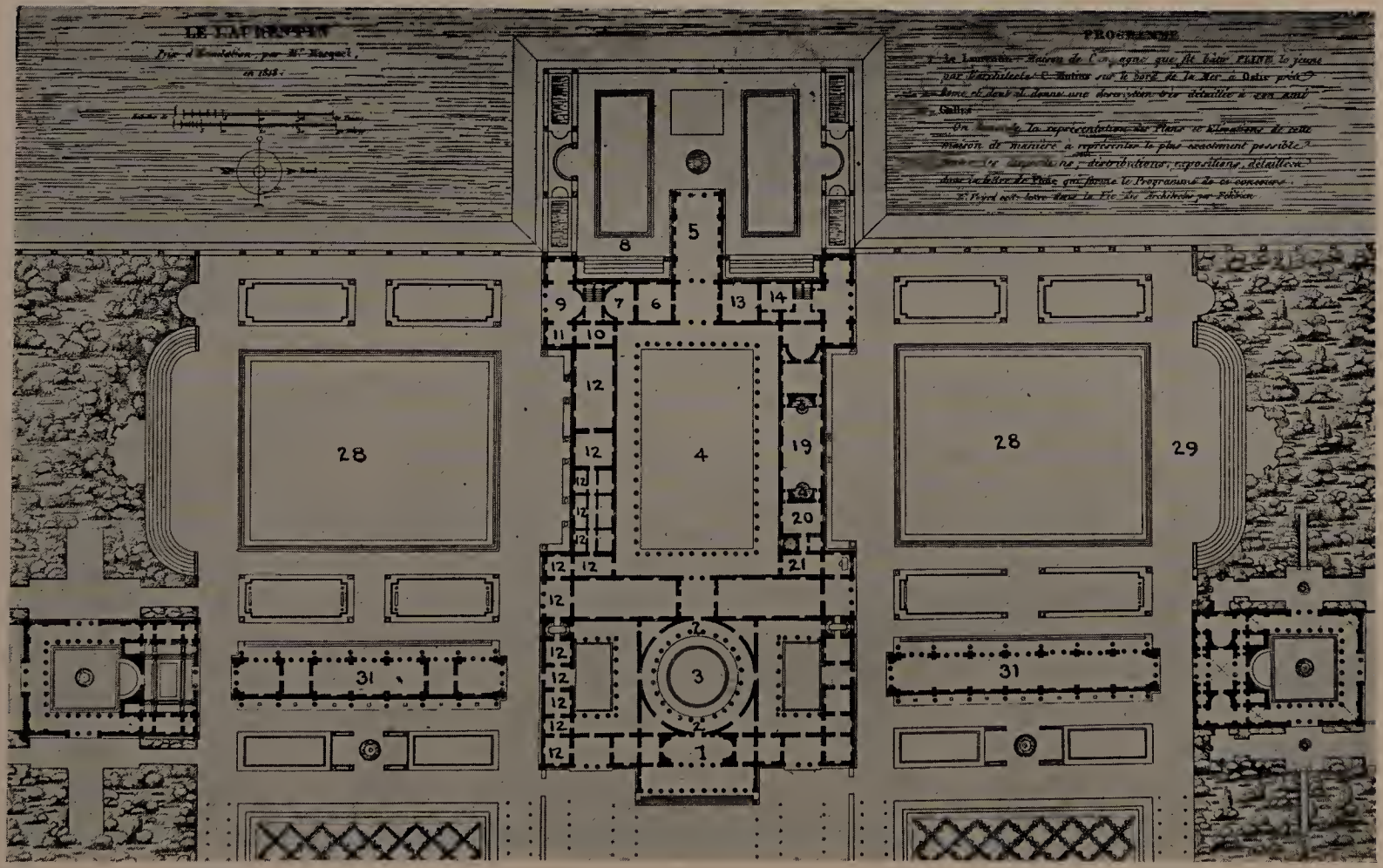
LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Marquez, 1796

worth while to have attempted it, though on the other hand he speaks of Marquez as a learned archaeologist and considers him far better versed in Roman art than Félibien was.

2 is shown as a circle, Marquez reads the text as "the letter D."

5 The sea does not look as if it were near enough to wash the dining room.

27 b, c, d. Some of the rooms belonging in the second tower are put outside the tower and apart from it. Another misunderstanding of the text.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. Macquet, 1818

Plate 13

MACQUET'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 13 and 14)

Macquet [63] and Normand (Plates 15 and 16) have much in common. Both took a Prix d'Emulation in 1818. Bouchet,[64] in 1852, states that Vaudoyer, who was at the head of the school of architecture in Paris in 1818, gave out this letter of Pliny as a prize competition: *concours d'émulation*, and that Macquet, whom he calls "one of our cleverest architects" took the first medal, though he adds that the work is not a "perfectly faithful" representation of the letter. Bouchet does not mention Normand at all.

In this competition the candidates were referred to Félibien's treatment of Pliny's letter in the Vies des Architectes. It is not therefore surprising that the two prize winning drawings are so much alike, and so similar to Félibien's. They both make a central building two stories high, no towers, the cryptoporticus and other buildings bilaterally symmetrical, though this latter touch did not of course come from Félibien. It is very hard to see how the waves could have washed against the walls of the dining room in either this plan or in Normand's.

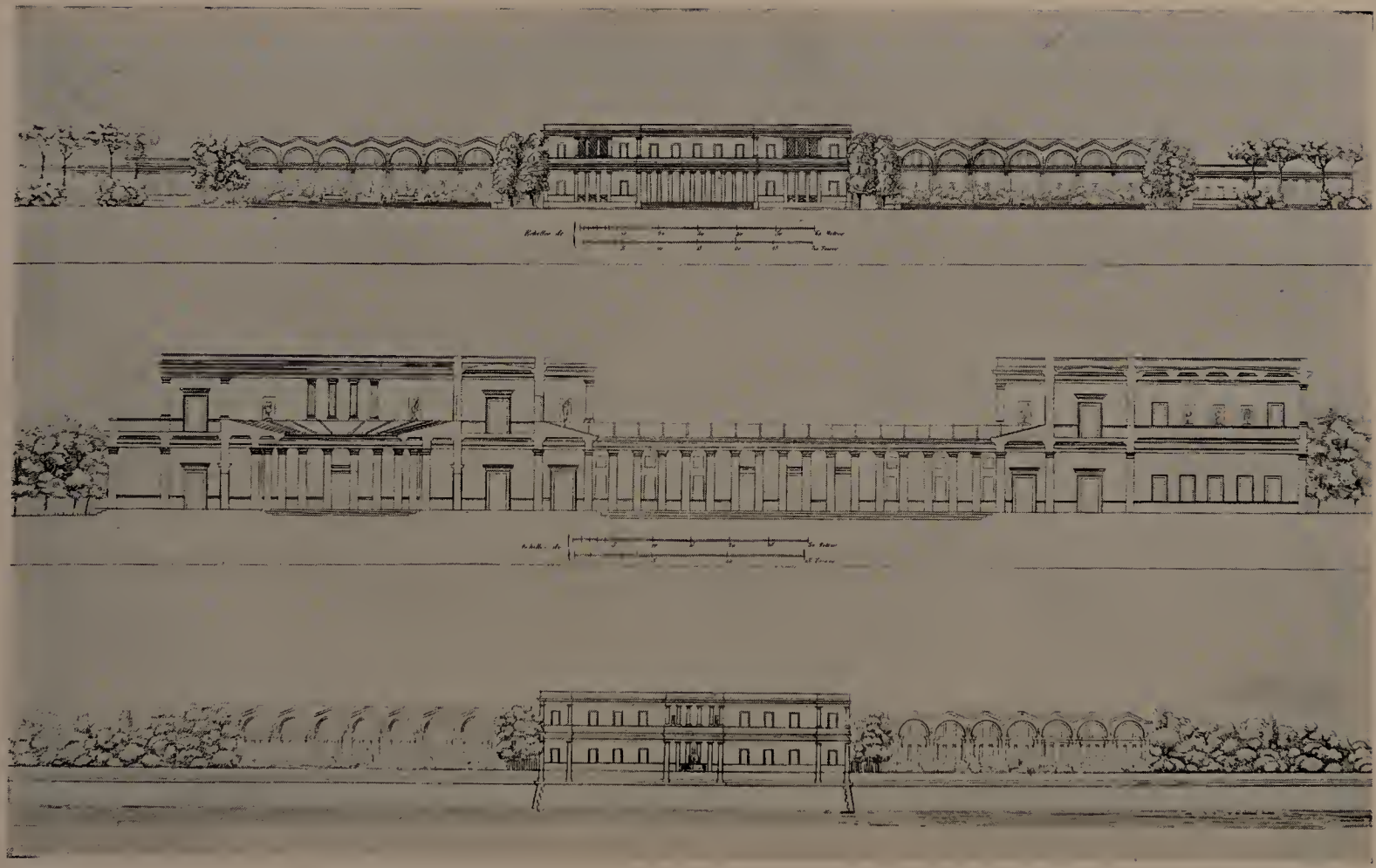
The scale is given in metres and in *toises*, the latter an ancient French unit of measure, equal to fathoms, or a fraction over six feet each.

2 is shown as a circle.

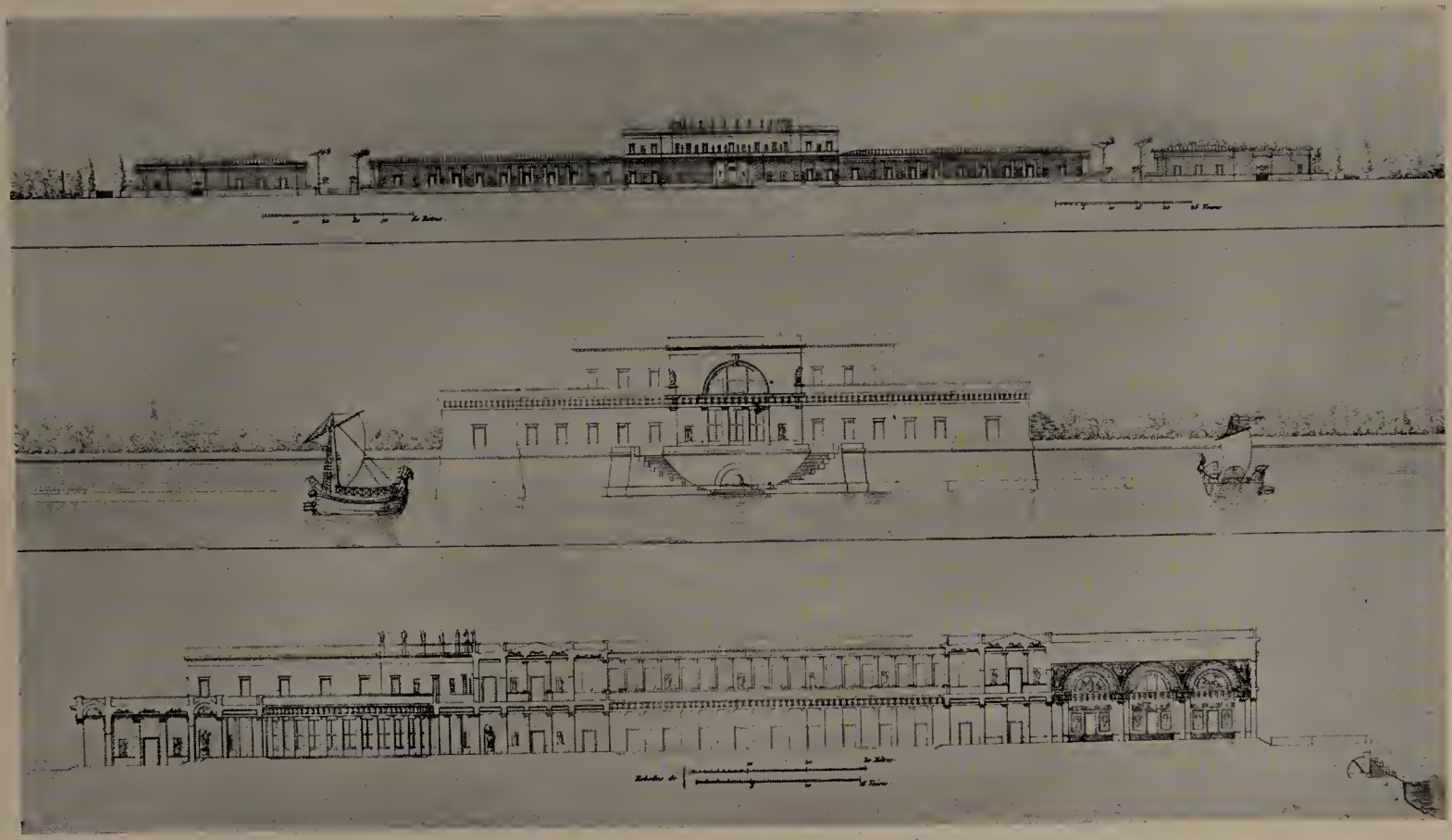
No legend is given in Macquet, nor yet in Normand.

[63] Académie des Beaux Arts, Grands Prix d'Architecture 1804–31 . . . . Paris, 1818–34, Vol. 2, plates 47 and 48.

[64] Jules Bouchet, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul. Paris, 1852.



Laurentine Villa, Elevations and Section. Macquet, 1818



Laurentine Villa, Elevations and Section. Normand, 1818

NORMAND'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 15 and 16)

Normand [65] is not mentioned by Bouchet at all, though he knew Macquet's reconstruction. It was only when the collection of Prix de Rome was consulted for Macquet's reconstruction that Normand's came to light, so to speak.

The "programme" is laid down as follows: "Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne que fit bâtir Pline le jeune par l'architecte C. Mutius sur le bord de la Mer à Ostie près Rome et dont il donne une description très détaillée à son ami Gallus.

"On demande la représentation des Plans et Elévations de cette maison de manière à représenter le plus exactement possible toutes les dispositions, distributions, expositions détaillées dans la lettre de Pline qui forme le Programme de ce concours.

"N^{a} Voyez cette lettre dans la Vie des Architectes par Félibien."

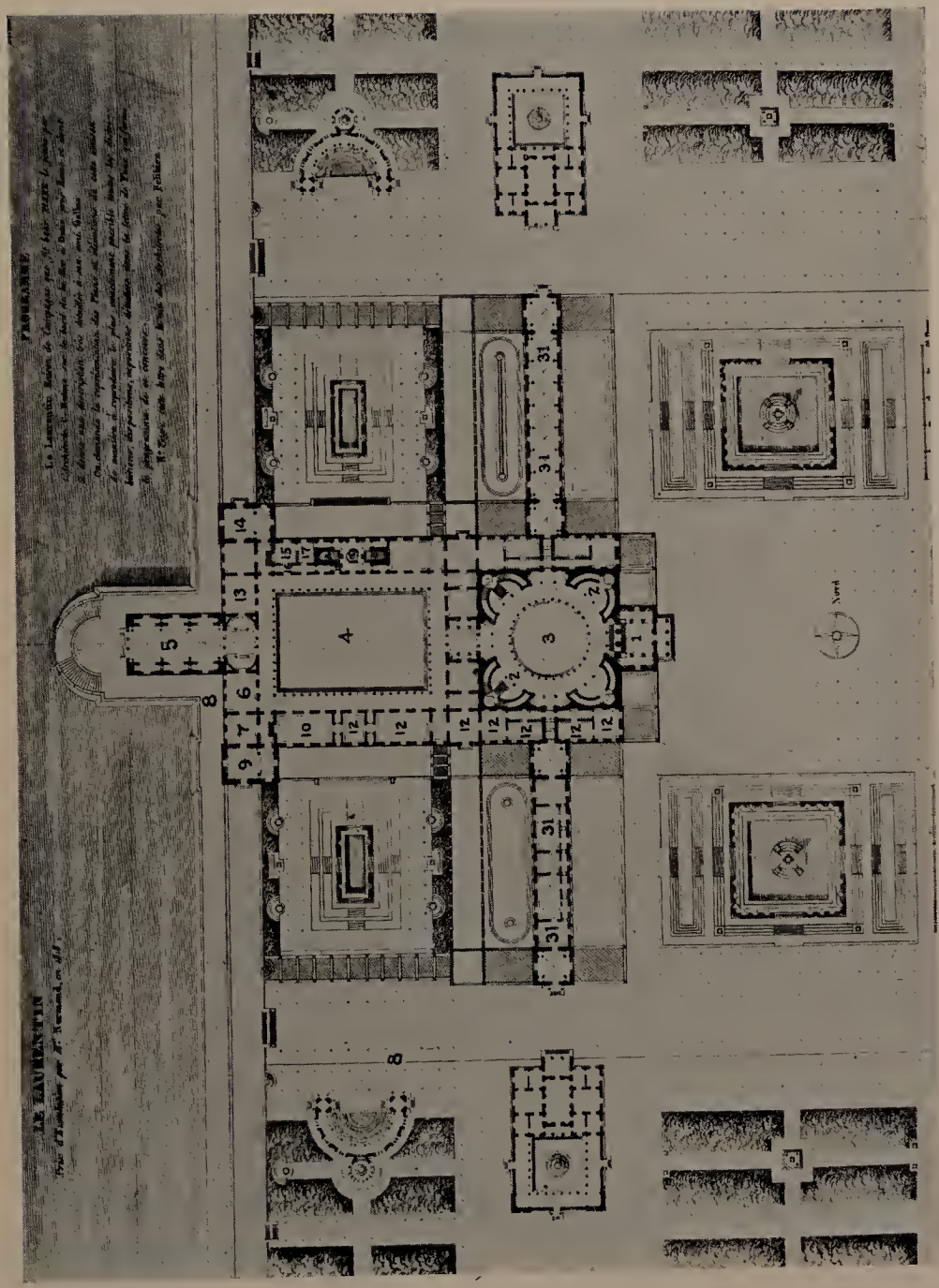
2 is a circle. There seem to be stairs in the west corners. See notes on Macquet, plates 13 and 14.

The garden in Normand is much more like that in Félibien than Macquet's is.

4 is somewhat large in both these reconstructions.

No legend is given in either of these competitions, and in inserting the numbers I have cofined myself to those it was impossible to mistake; 33, the garden suite, for instance might have been at either side, since they are bilaterally symmetrical.

[65] Académie des Beaux Arts, Grands Prix d'Architecture 1804–31 . . . . Paris 1818–34, Vol. 2, Plates 68 and 69.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. Normand, 1818

HIRT'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 17 and 18)

1, a and b, are porter's rooms.

2. Hirt [66] calls it "round," hence the double portico; he translates "letter O."

The villa is one and a half stories high; the towers, three stories.

4 has only four columns indicated, as for an atrium.

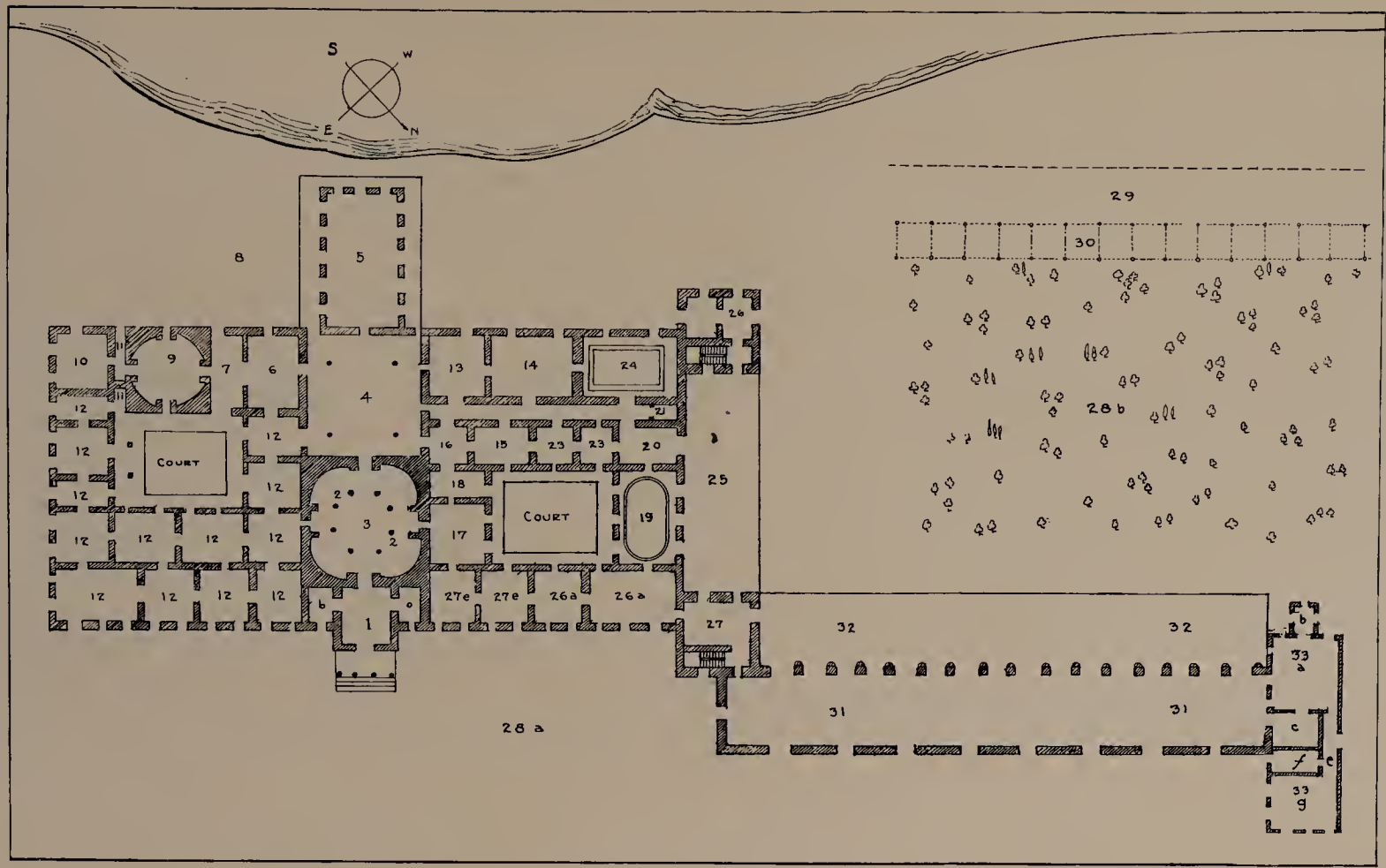
9, room with bay window, is here round, though most of the reconstructions make only one side rounded.

26a and 27e Hirt puts outside the towers, and apart from them.

In the elevation, plate 18, a part of the cryptoporticus is shown behind the tower, or overlapping it.

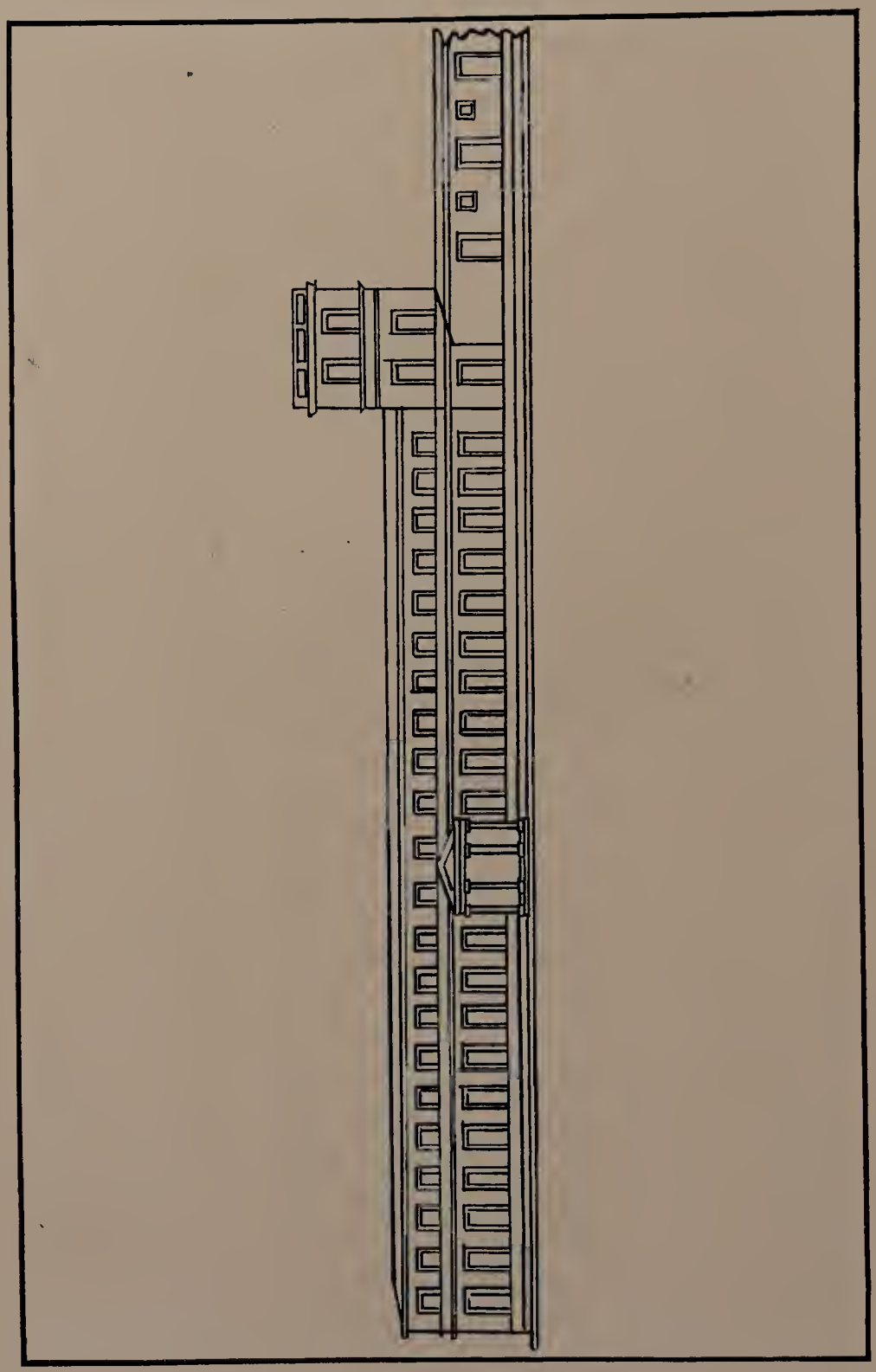
This is the plan that Burn used; see plate 31.

[66] A. Hirt, Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten. Berlin, 1827. Vol. III. Die Lehre der Gebäude bei den Griechen und Römern.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Hirt, 1827

PLATE 17



Laurentine Villa, Elevation. Hirt, 1827

Laurentine Villa, Perspective. Haudebourt, 1838

HAUDEBOURT'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 19 and 20)

This is one of the best reconstructions, both pleasing and accurate.

1. The rooms opening on the atrium are indicated.

4 is a peristyle.

5. The lecti or couches are indicated in the dining room.

9 is shown as a circle.

I do not however think that Haudebourt [67] need have made the cryptoporticus turn a corner, nor put the garden suite, 33, so near the water, though he evidently did this on purpose, cf. Bouchet's criticism in plate 25. He shows a careful reading of the text.

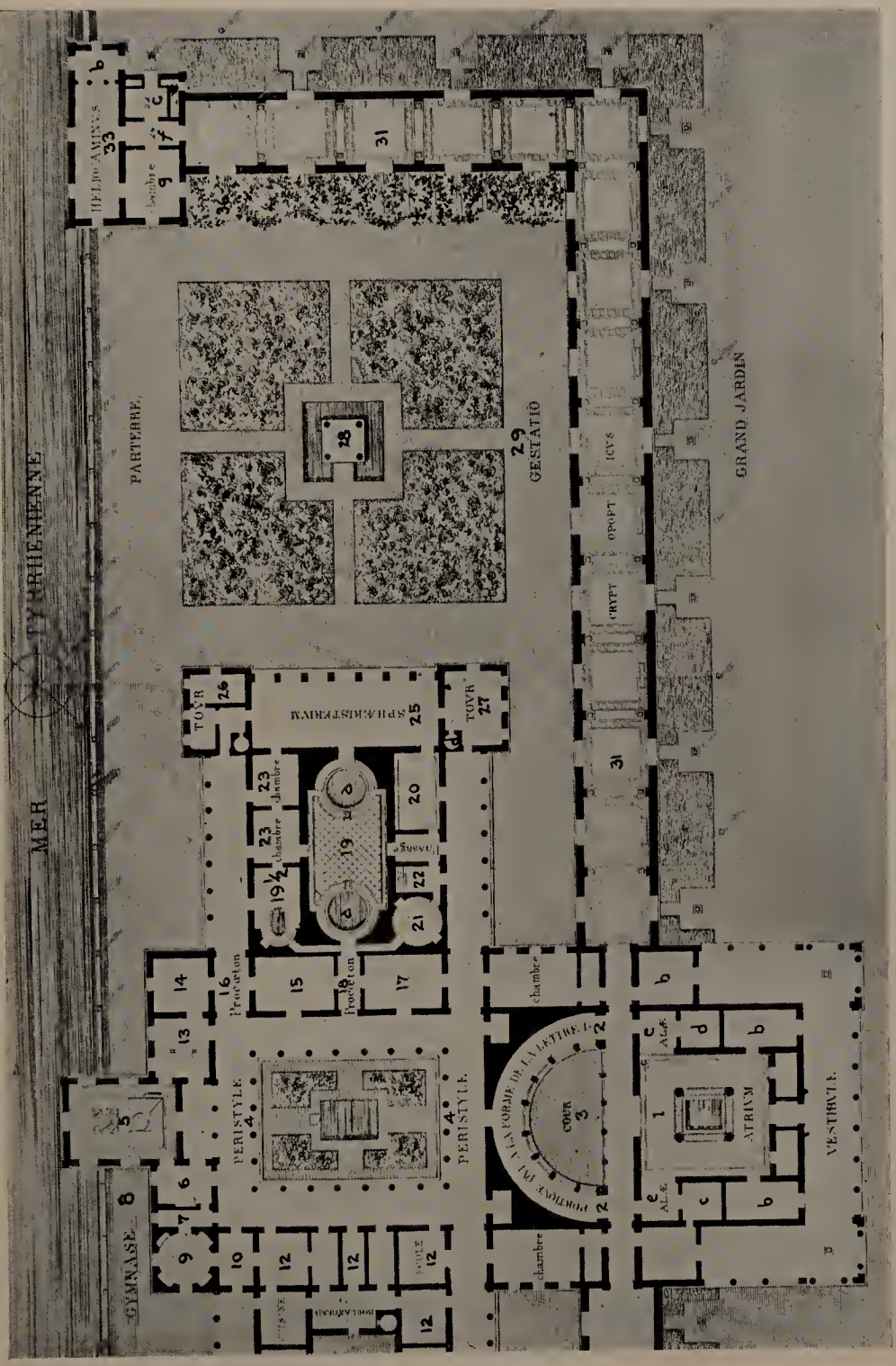
Inigo Triggs [68] uses this reconstruction to illustrate Roman villas in his Garden Craft in Europe.

SPECIAL LEGEND, PLATE 20

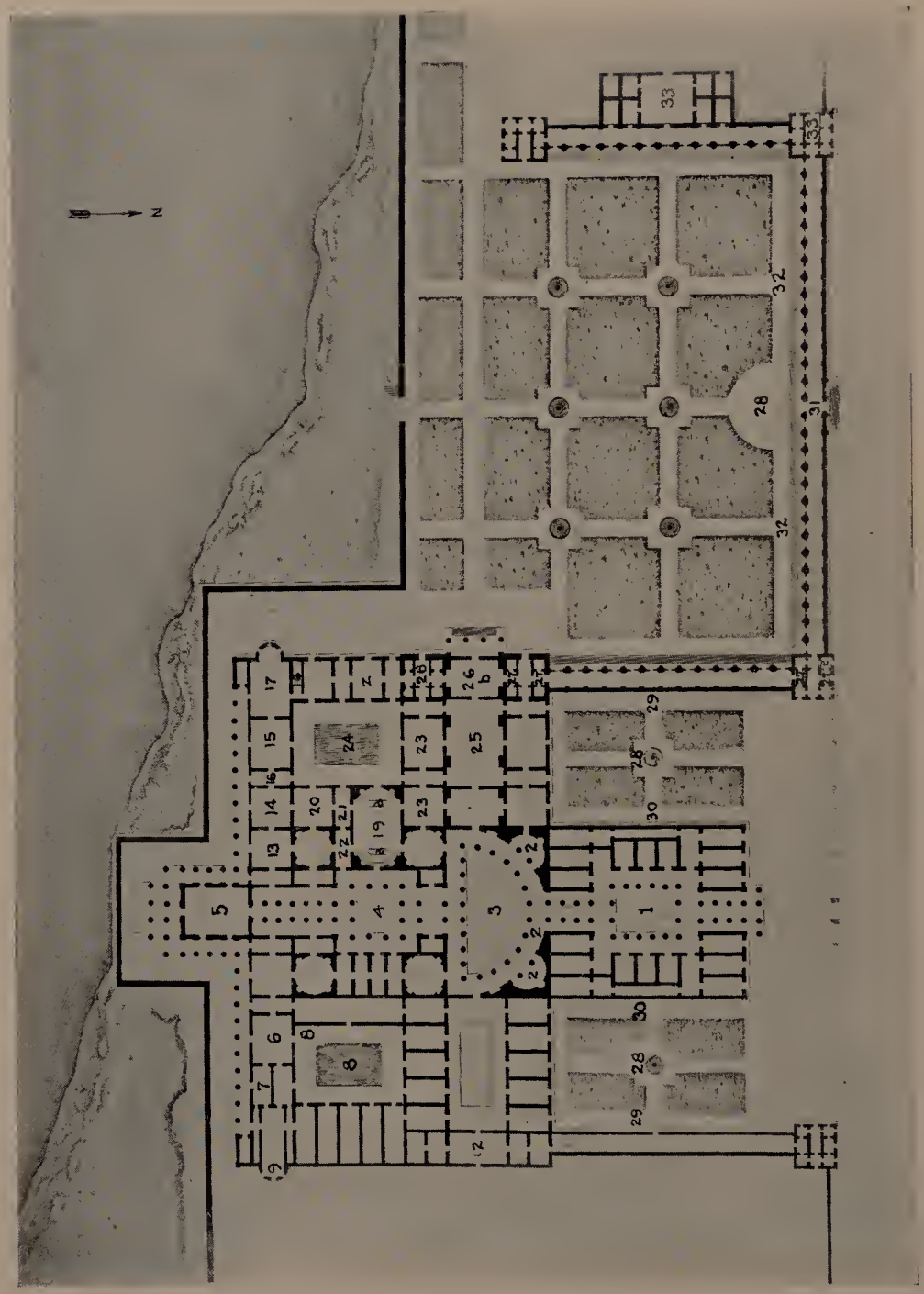
1—b. Hospitium
c. "Archives"
d. Lararium
e. Alae
19 1/2. Tepidarium

[67] L. P. Haudebourt, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline le Jeune. Paris, 1838.

[68] H. Inigo Triggs, Garden Craft in Europe. London 1913.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Haudebourt, 1838



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Canina, 1840

CANINA'S PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE

(Plates 21 and 22)

1. Atrium is like that in town houses, cf. also Haudebourt, plate 20.

2. Portico, semicircular, D. Canina [69] establishes his defense of this course by saying that if Pliny had meant an "O," he would have called it a circle, which Canina translates "rotondo." This seems sound reasoning. This semicircle is somewhat unusual in that the circular part is first entered from the atrium. There are probably stairs in the north corners, leading up to the second story indicated in the perspective.

8. The gymnasium is here shown as a court yard containing the hibernaculum or sun parlor of the slaves.

10 and 11, the bedroom and its corridor, Canina does not mark.

24. Z is a porch outside the swimming pool.

26 and 27 he marks as towers, but puts them close together, and in the perspective they overlook the two stories of the rest of the house only by means of balconies on the roof. Similar balconies are shown in several other places in the perspective. 26b and 27e are once more outside the towers.

In addition to marking all the rooms we note in our legend, Canina drew other parts of the villa, such as were commonly found in Roman country houses, but without labelling them.

The perspective was used by Waltz, plate 32.

[69] Luigi Canina, Architettura Antica. Roma, 1840. Sez. III.

LAURENTINE VILLA, PERSPECTIVE. Canina, 1840

Laurentine Villa, Perspective. Schinkel, 1841

SCHINKEL'S PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE

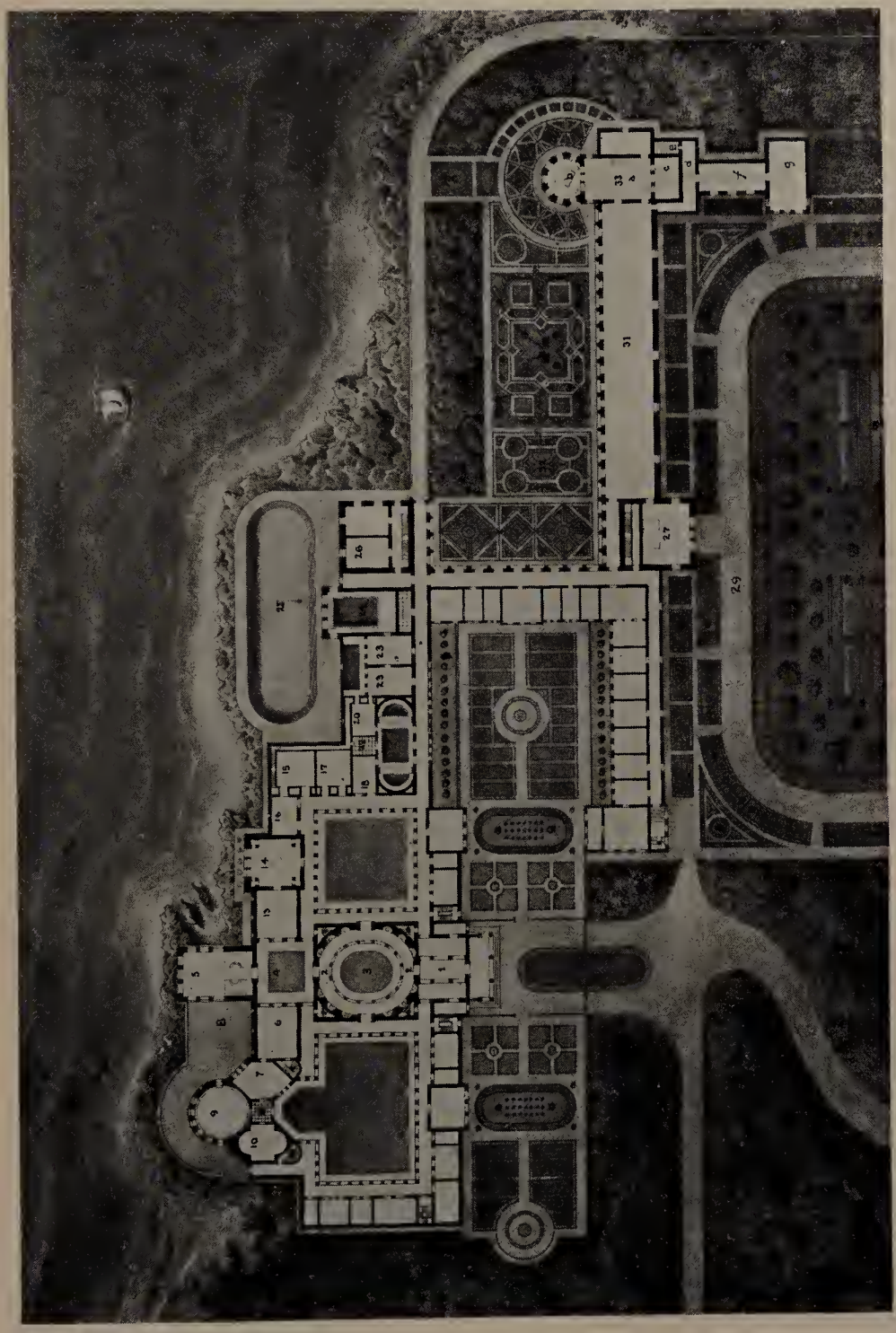
(Plates 23 and 24)

Schinkel's[70] plan and especially the perspective, I found disappointing, as, while he had a great reputation in Germany for his classical learning he seems to me to have introduced, quite gratuitously, features which were not mentioned in Pliny, as for instance, the high wall all along the water's edge, with a basement entrance to the dining room from a boat landing. If Pliny specifically mentions the washing of the waves at the foot of the dining room (5), it would seem that the rest of the house was somewhat farther away from the shore, though several rooms in this plan are shown close to the water. Furthermore the room with the bay window (9) in this reconstruction is exactly like the dining room.

2 is an O.

26 and 27, the towers, he makes three stories high, thus proving that he read the difficult part of the text with care; most of the house seems to be two stories high.

[70] Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Architektonisches Album, Heft VII., Potsdam, 1841.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Schinkel, 1841

Laurentine Villa, Perspective. Bouchet, 1852

BOUCHET'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 25 and 26)

A charming study!

In the book on Pliny's Laurentine Villa, called Le Laurentin,[71] Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul, published in 1852, Bouchet reproduced five reconstructions made between 1615 and 1838, which he was surprised to find so different that, he says, you would scarcely believe that the same text had inspired them. He gives Scamozzi (plate 5), Félibien (plates 6, 7), Marquez (plate 12), Macquet (plates 13, 14) and Haudebourt (plates 19, 20). His own he calls the seventh, as it is quite different from the one he exhibited at the Salon in 1851. This he does not include, unfortunately, and I have not been able to get hold of it. He owes more to Haudebourt he says than to any of his other predecessors.

Bouchet considers Scamozzi's plan "infinitely superior" to those of Félibien and of Marquez, but agrees that he has made it easier for himself by leaving out several parts of the house, thus simplifying his plan.

Bouchet thinks that Félibien follows the description more closely than Scamozzi did, but criticizes his *andron* and altogether believes that he follows the style of his own epoch, Louis XIII, too closely.

He does not at all approve of Marquez, and publishes the latter's plan only to make his work complete, he says.

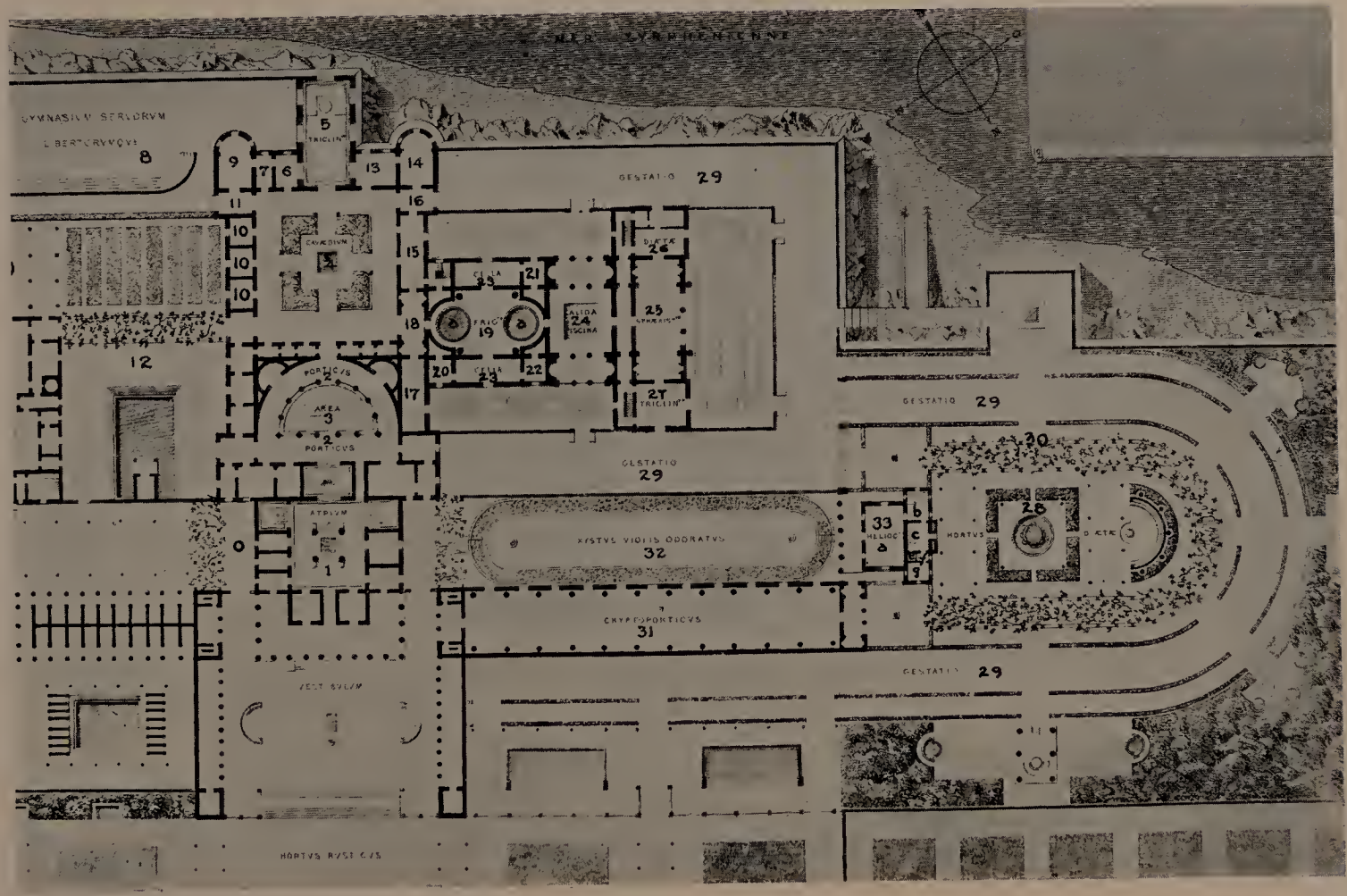
Though Bouchet owes so much to Haudebourt, he criticizes him for making the cryptoporticus with a right angle, in order to put the solarium (33a) at the water's edge. But this makes a better arrangement than we find in Bouchet's own, by getting 33 farther away from the house.

2 is a semicircle.

5, the dining room shows the couch, but in Haudebourt (cf. Plate 20) it is better placed, as the diners faced the sea; here their backs are toward it.

14. The large room has here the same curve as the bay window

[71] Jules Bouchet, Le Laurentin, Maison de Campagne de Pline-le-Consul. Paris, 1852.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Bouchet, 1852

PLATE 26

in 9, perhaps for the sake of symmetry, but there is nothing in the text to indicate that it should be so.

18 is not here shown as an anteroom to 17.

26 and 27, the towers, have the ball court between them, but some of the rooms belonging to the first tower he puts west of the atrium.

31, the gallery, ought to begin at the second tower, and that would bring Pliny's favorite suite farther away from the house than Bouchet has it, which would be an improvement, but cf. Haudebourt, plate 20.

In 1906 H. Inigo Triggs[72] reproduced Bouchet's drawings in his Art of Garden Design in Italy.

LORING'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 27 and 28)

Laurentine Villa, plan, and two elevations: upper, from front of house, lower from rear, that is from the sea. Points of compass not indicated.

This[73] and the following set of plates (29 and 30) are those which were found in the Department of Architecture of Columbia University, which have been in its possession since its foundation. The plates in this set are marked "J. W. Loring, 73 Mt. Vernon Street, Pliny's Villa at Laurentum, restored," the other "Pliny's Villa, J. G. S., Jr., Dec. 3, 1864," but nothing more.

26 and 27. The towers as shown in plate 28 are two stories high, no taller, that is, than the rooms on the right side of the house.

31. The cryptoporticus runs between the towers, beginning at the atrium and extending for some distance. At the far end is a path leading to

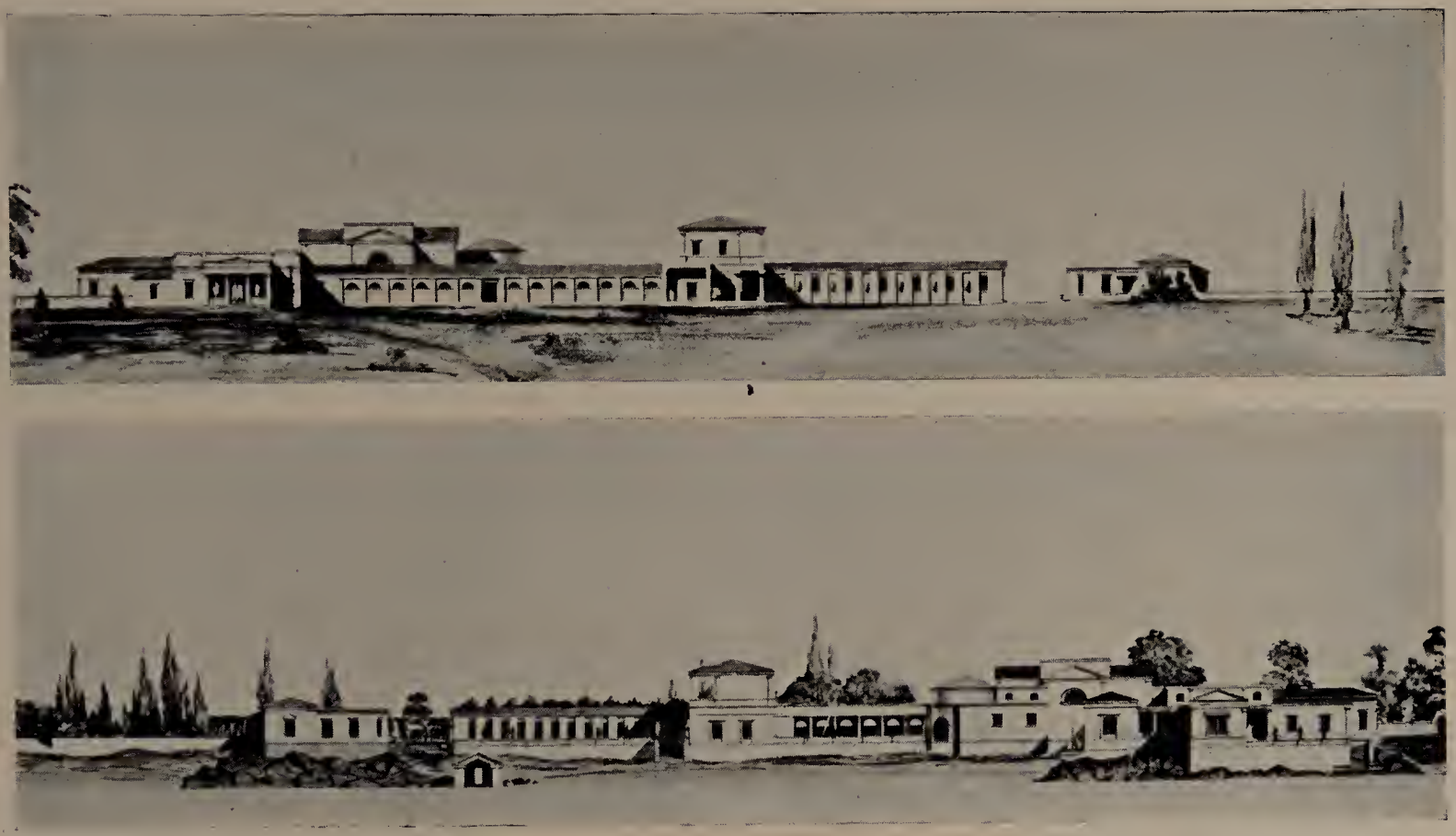
33, the garden suite, which is here quite separate from the principal structure.

28. The garden is laid out in formal lines, the sea shore is curved.

[72] H. Inigo Triggs, The Art of Garden Design in Italy. London, 1906.

[73] See p. 46.

LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Loring, 1864



LAURENTINE VILLA, ELEVATIONS. Loring, 1864

Laurentine Villa, Plan. J. G. S., 1864

RECONSTRUCTION BY J. G. S., JR.

(Plates 29 and 30)

Laurentine Villa,[74] plan and two sections; lower section through major axis showing rooms 1–5; upper section, parallel to this showing rooms 19–24; no compass points are indicated on the plan.

Compare remarks on Loring's reconstruction, plates 27 and 28.

8. The gymnasium is unusual in treatment and somewhat larger than is common, it is enclosed as a court, and has steps leading down to the water.

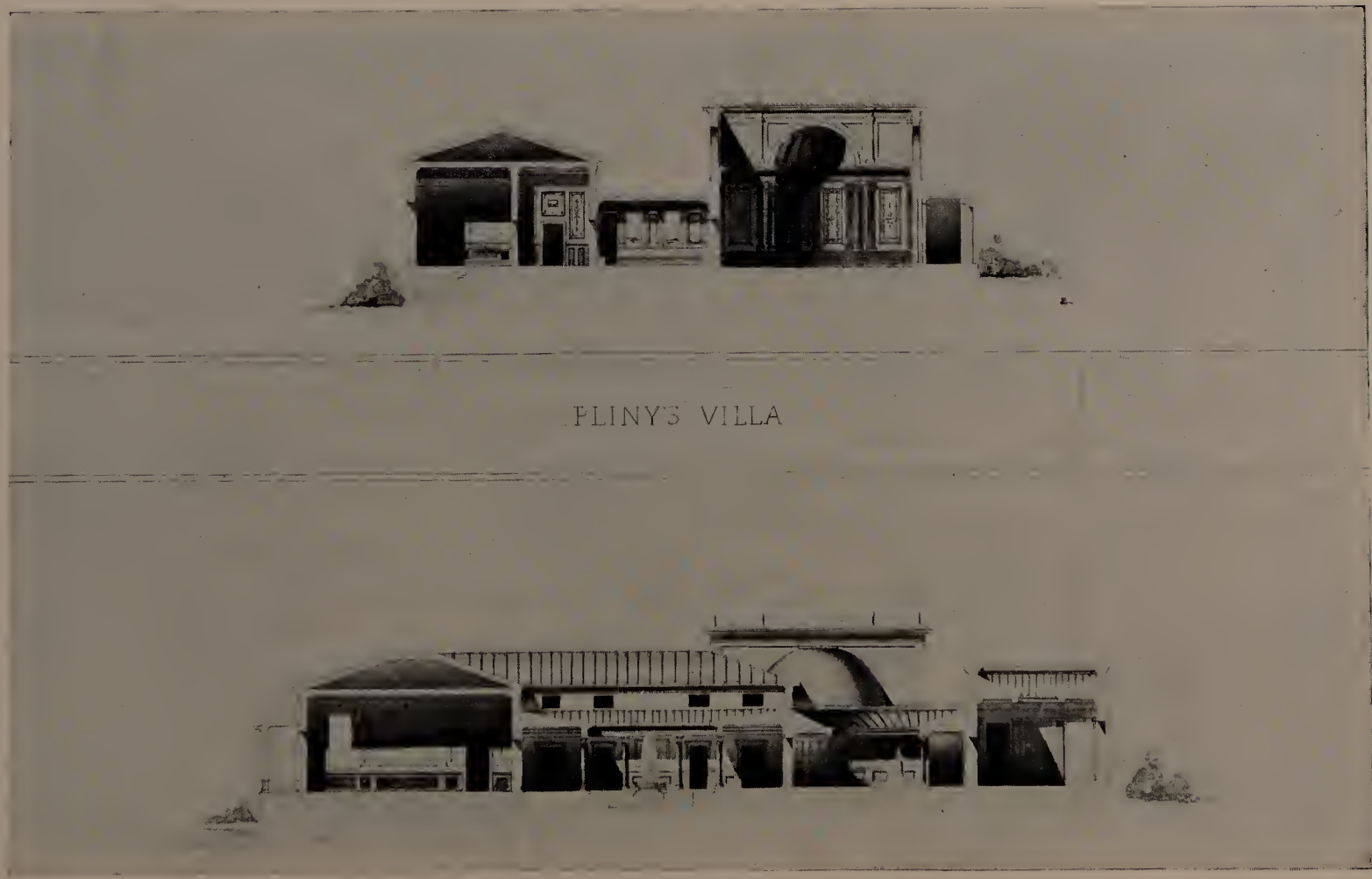
25. The ball court seems to be lacking.

31. The cryptoporticus is very like Loring's in that it begins at the atrium and stops some little distance from the path leading to 33, but it does not run between the towers.

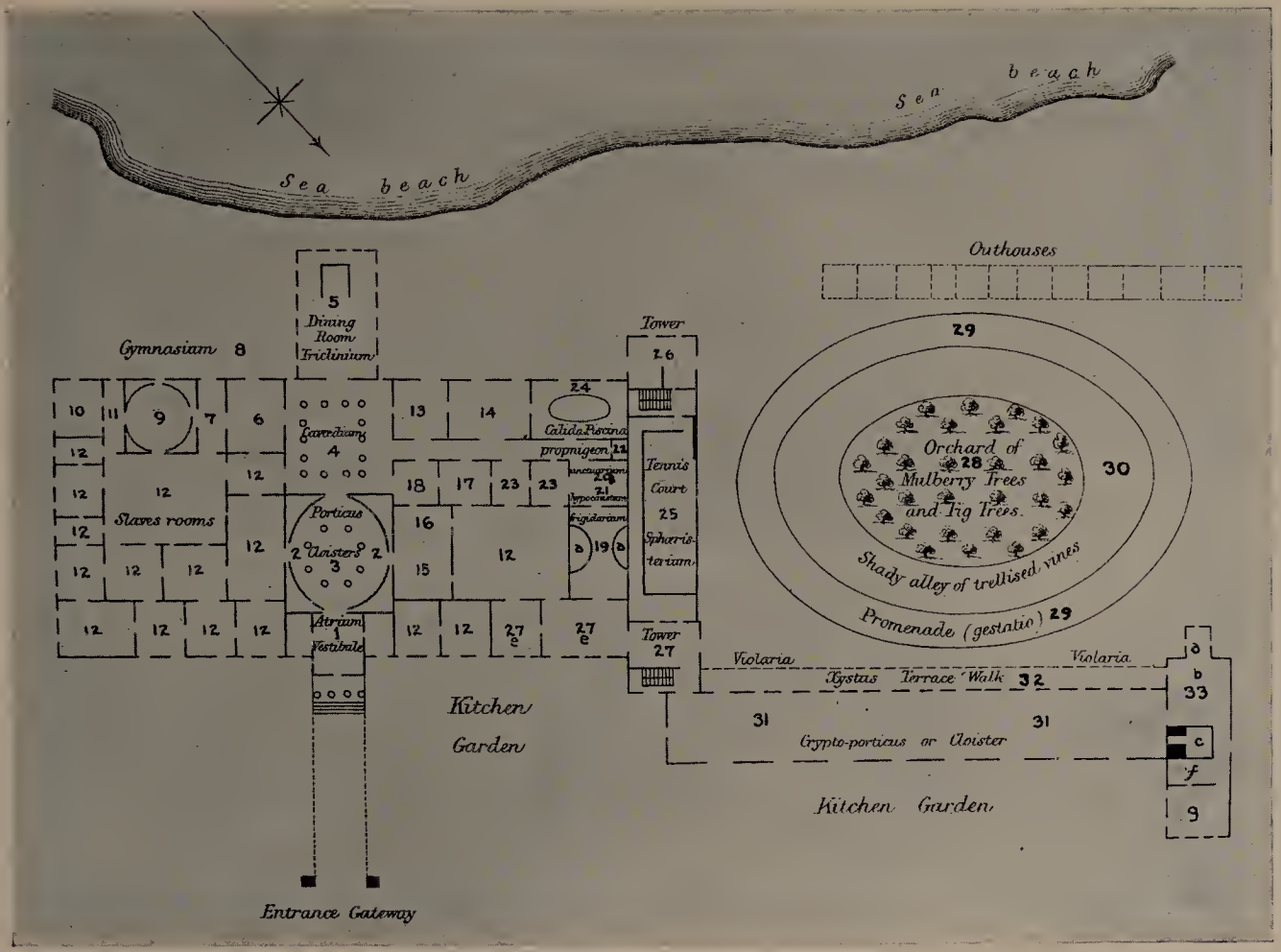
27. Some of the rooms which ought to be in the second tower are shown here on the terrace.

28. The garden is here on the side of the house toward the sea, and the shore is much more curved than is usual.

[74] See p. 46.



Laurentine Villa, Sections. J. G. S., 1864



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. After Hirt. Burn, 1876

BURN'S PLAN

(Plate 31)

Robert Burn, in Rome and the Campagna,[75] used this plan of the Laurentine villa as typical of Roman country houses.

While Burn follows Hirt's (Plate 17) arrangement of the rooms quite closely in general, the cavaedium has many more pillars than Hirt had.

12. The slaves' quarters show more rooms than Hirt.

1. Atrium. Burn translates "porch in front," and adds the explanation: "Pliny uses *atrium* in the sense of *vestibulum*."

2. Burn translates "cloisters in the shape of the letter D" but in this plan he copies Hirt's round *area*.

27. He puts two store rooms outside the second tower.

28. The garden Burn makes very elaborate.

WALTZ' PERSPECTIVE

(Plate 32)

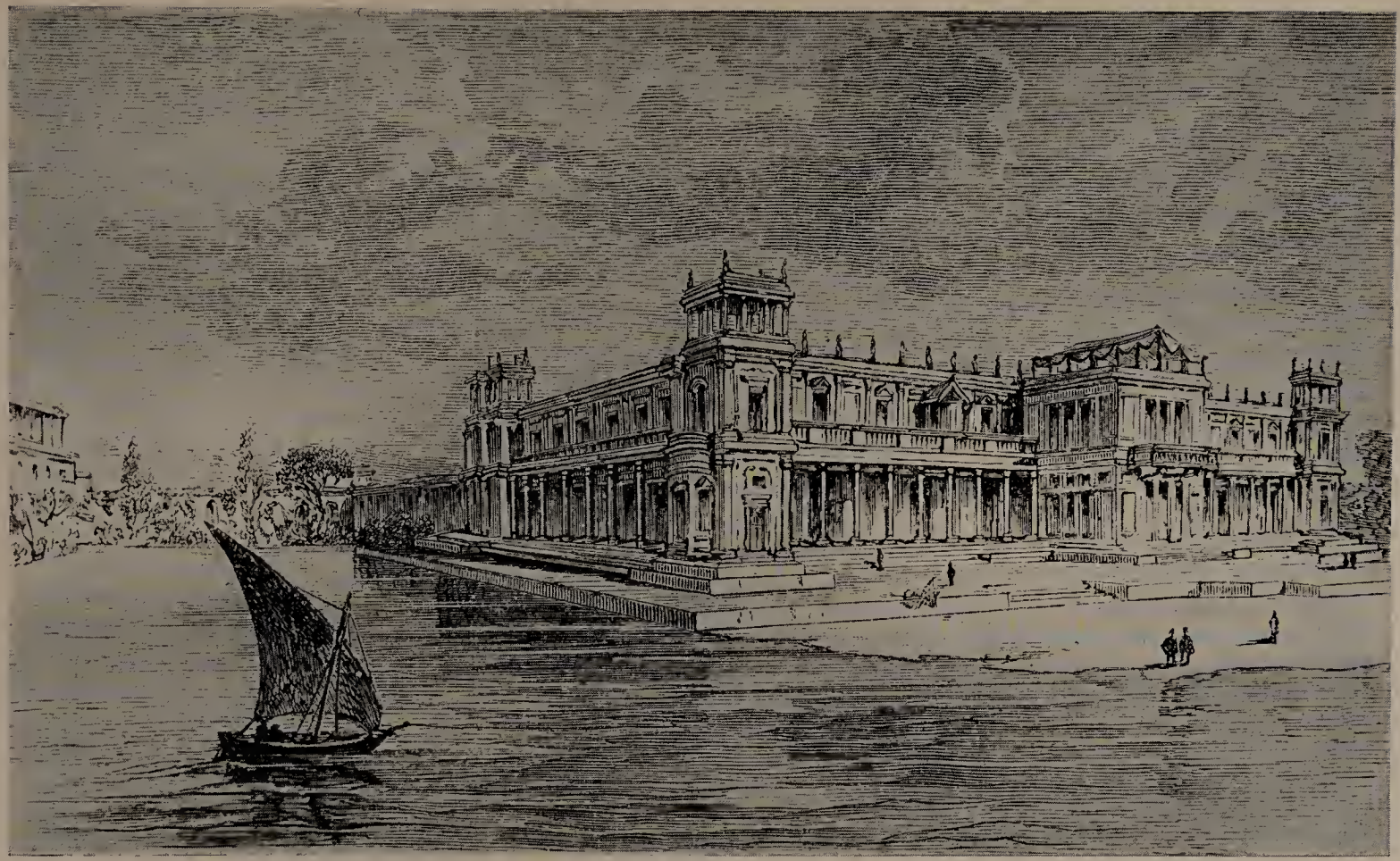
This perspective was found in an edition of selected letters with notes first published in Paris in 1883.[76] No credit is given to anyone other than the editor; it seems fair therefore to assume that Waltz himself drew it. It closely resembles Canina's, indeed the differences are so slight that it seems unnecessary to analyze it. It can best be read with reference to plate 22.

In the fifth edition of his translation of Pliny's letters, published in 1914, Waltz[77] speaks of the reconstructions of this villa, and by way of example mentions the work of W. Stier, "publié à Berlin en 1866, avec un atlas de 7 planches." It is possible that Waltz was influenced by Stier, but as I have been unable to find the work of Stier in spite of diligent search, I cannot arrive at a more exact conclusion. Waltz was Professor at the Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux.

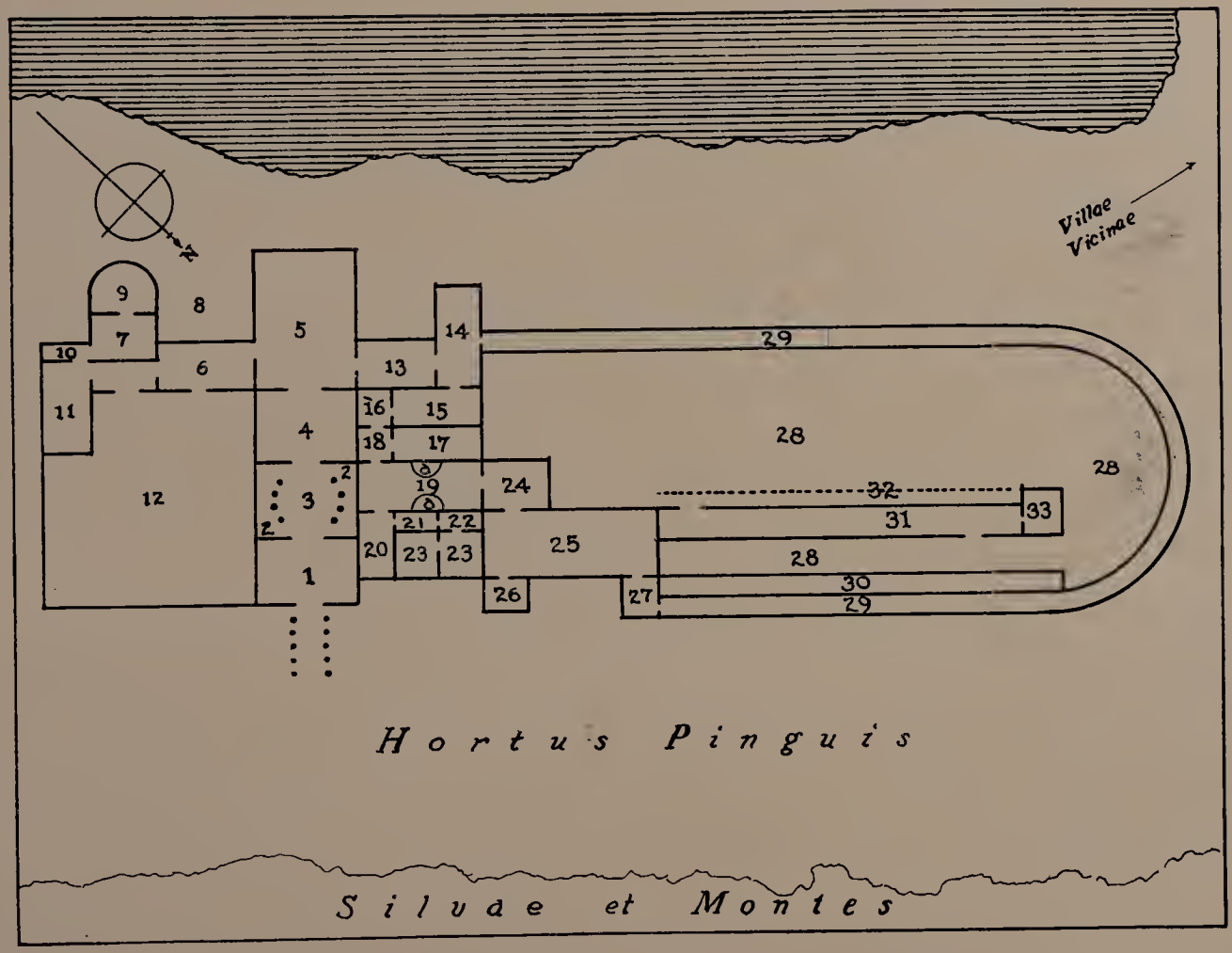
[75] Robert Burn, Rome and the Campagna. London, 1876. Chap. XIV., p. 412.

[76] A. Waltz, Pline le Jeune, Choix de Lettres. Paris, 1900.

[77] A. Waltz, Pline le Jeune, Choix de Lettres, Traduction Française. 5me ed. Paris, 1914.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PERSPECTIVE. After Canina. Waltz, 1883



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. After Castell. Cowan, 1889

COWAN'S PLAN

(Plate 33)

See also Frontispiece.

Cowan[78] does not tell us how or why he happened to draw this plan, which he used to illustrate an edition of Books I. and II. of Pliny's letters in Macmillan's School edition of the Classics. Cowan was Head Master of Lurgan College in 1889.

This plan differs from Castell in a few particulars:

1. The atrium is smaller and more conservative than Castell's.

2. The colonnade is not so decided an ellipse.

26 and 27. The towers are more symmetrical, both on the n.e. side, and the hippodrome, like the gestatio (29) leads from the second tower around to the large room, 14.

But on the whole Cowan's obligation to Castell, which indeed he acknowledges, is very obvious.

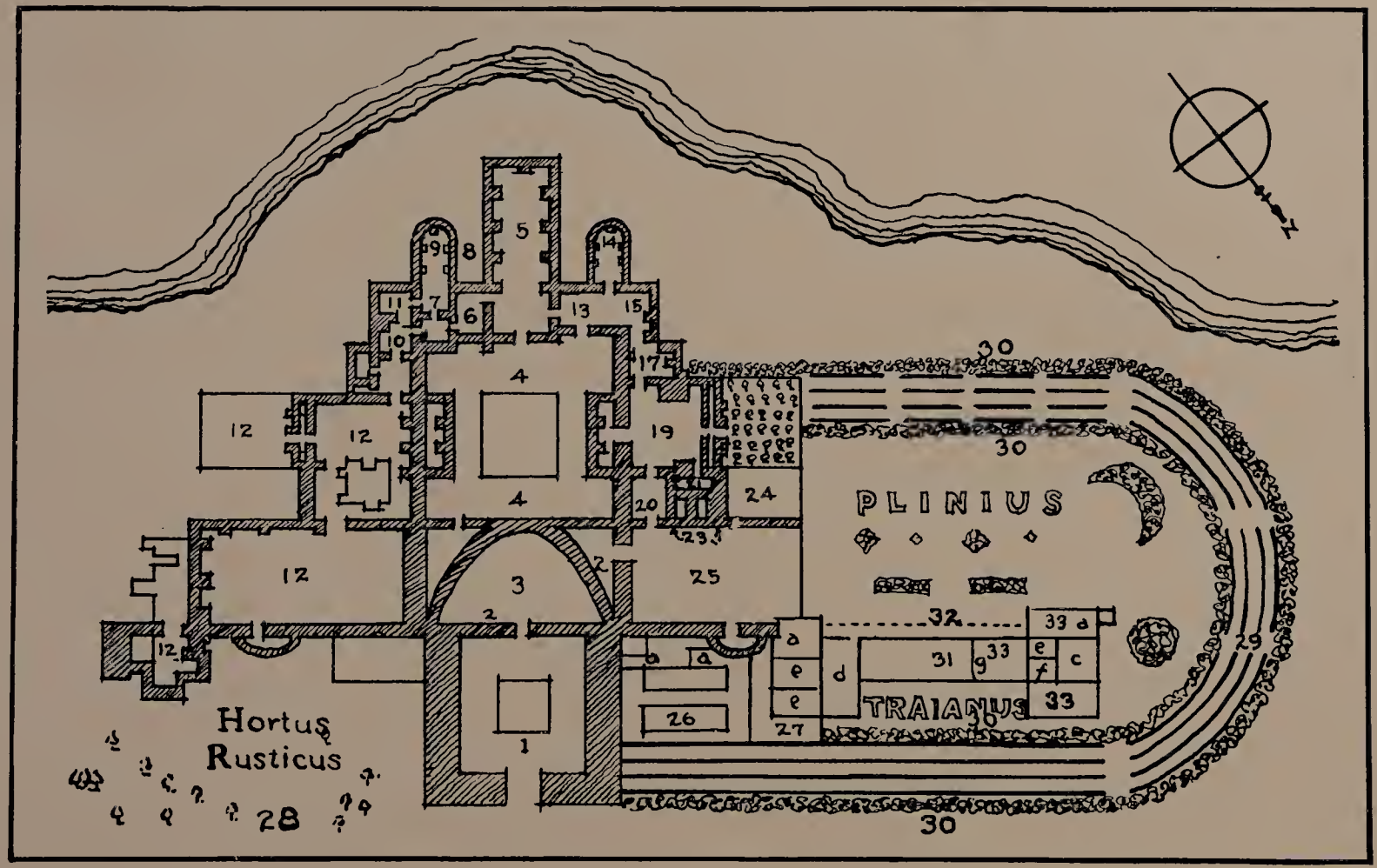
Frontispiece

The Laurentine Villa, Clay model, Tanzer, 1912.

It was this plan of Cowan's by which I was myself stimulated to a closer study of the whole subject of Pliny's villas, and which, indeed, I used as the plan on which to build the model I caused some of my students to execute in 1912.

This model is still in use at Hunter College. It is made of plasticine mixed with oil and painted yellow with a dark green roof, the pillars at the front door are of wood painted white, the shady path (30) is covered with isinglass. The whole model is built on a piece of tin which is nailed down on a supporting table. The dimensions are: table, 4 ft. by 2 1/2. Cowan's plan we enlarged to 3 ft. long by one foot from no. 1 through no. 5. The house in front but without the overhanging roofs of 1–4 is 2 1/2 inches high; the towers are (26) 7 1/2 inches high, and (27) 5 1/2. The cryptoporticus is just under 12 inches long, the garden suite (33) is 4 inches high. I cannot defend the unevenness of the towers, one three stories and the other two stories high, which I now believe to be of the same height, three stories, and can only assume that the discrepancy was due to negligence in the reading of the text!

[78] James Cowan, Pliny's Letters, Books I and II, edited by . . . . London, 1889.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. After Castell. Heatley, 1889

Plate 34

HEATLEY'S PLAN

(Plate 34)

Here again we see a marked following of Castell's plans. This one appeared in Heatley's [79] Selections from Pliny's letters, published by Messrs. Rivingtons, London in 1889, the same year as Cowan's (see last plate). Heatley was at Beaudesert school, Henley-in-Arden.

The chief divergences from Castell are the following:

1. Atrium more like an ordinary atrium.

2. D, though not semicircular.

12, the slaves' quarters, is more nearly like Castell's than Cowan's is.

26 and 27, the towers and the rooms belonging to them show a careless reading of the text, with much confusion. Heatley has a legend but no discussion on it.

The gardens with the flower beds laid out in crescent and other shapes and with the names of Pliny and of the Emperor Trajan spelled out in the beds are of course transferred from the garden in the Tuscan Villa (see below).

[79] Henry Richard Heatley, A Selection from Pliny's Letters. London, 1889.

WINNEFELD'S PLAN

(Plate 35)

A sketch,[80] not a full plan.

The house faces n.e., but the second tower (27) and the other rooms adjoining begin away from the house, due north, and continue at an angle.

8, 12, 29, 30 are not shown.

1 is a normal atrium.

2 is a semicircle, but the curved colonnade is nearer the entrance than we usually have it.

4 is a peristyle.

26, 27. The towers are not similar nor symmetrical, as most are in the other reconstructions. Some of the tower rooms are outside of the towers.

[80] Hermann Winnefeld, Tusci und Laurentinum des Jüngeren Plinius. (See Bibliography.)

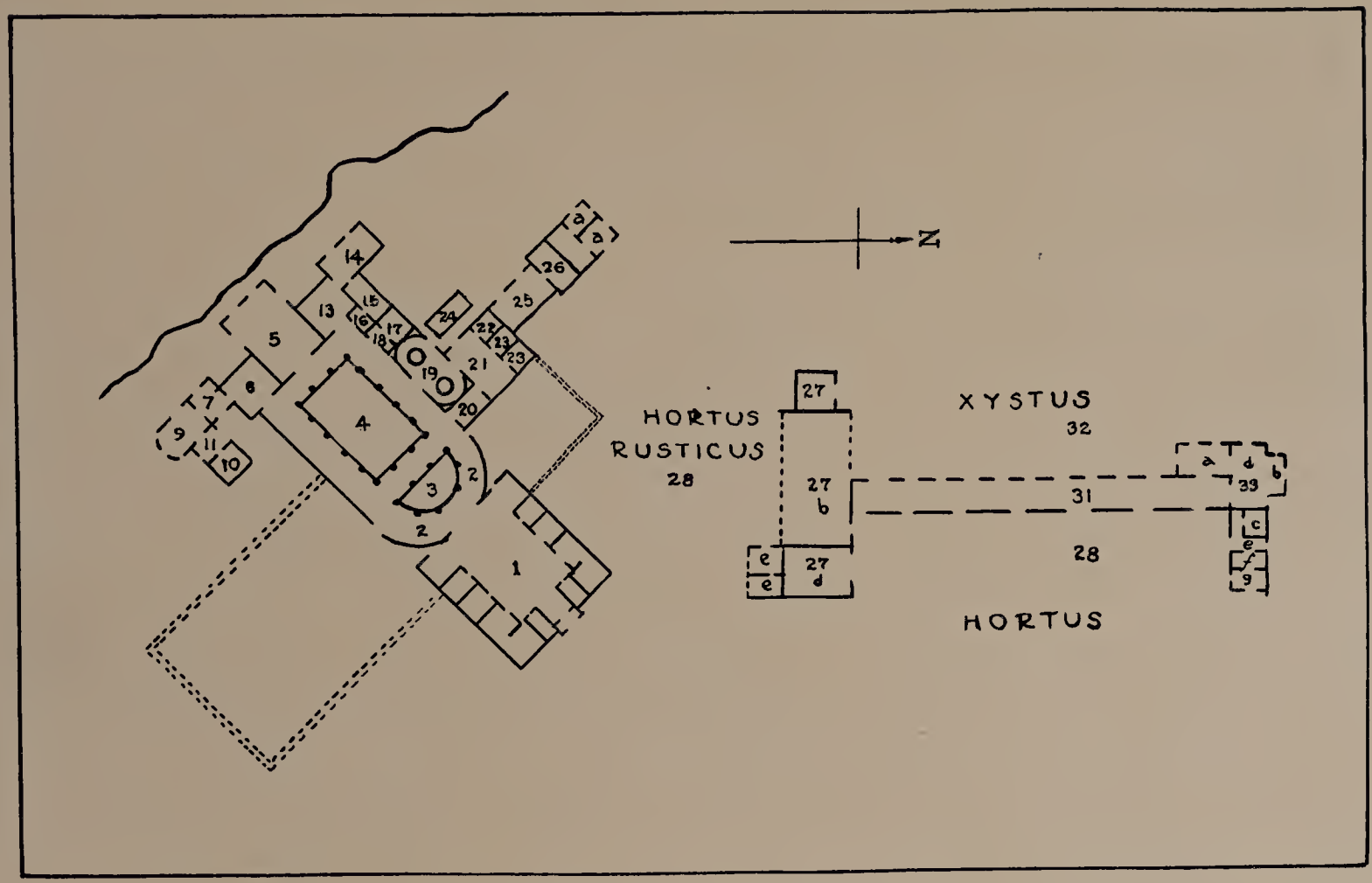
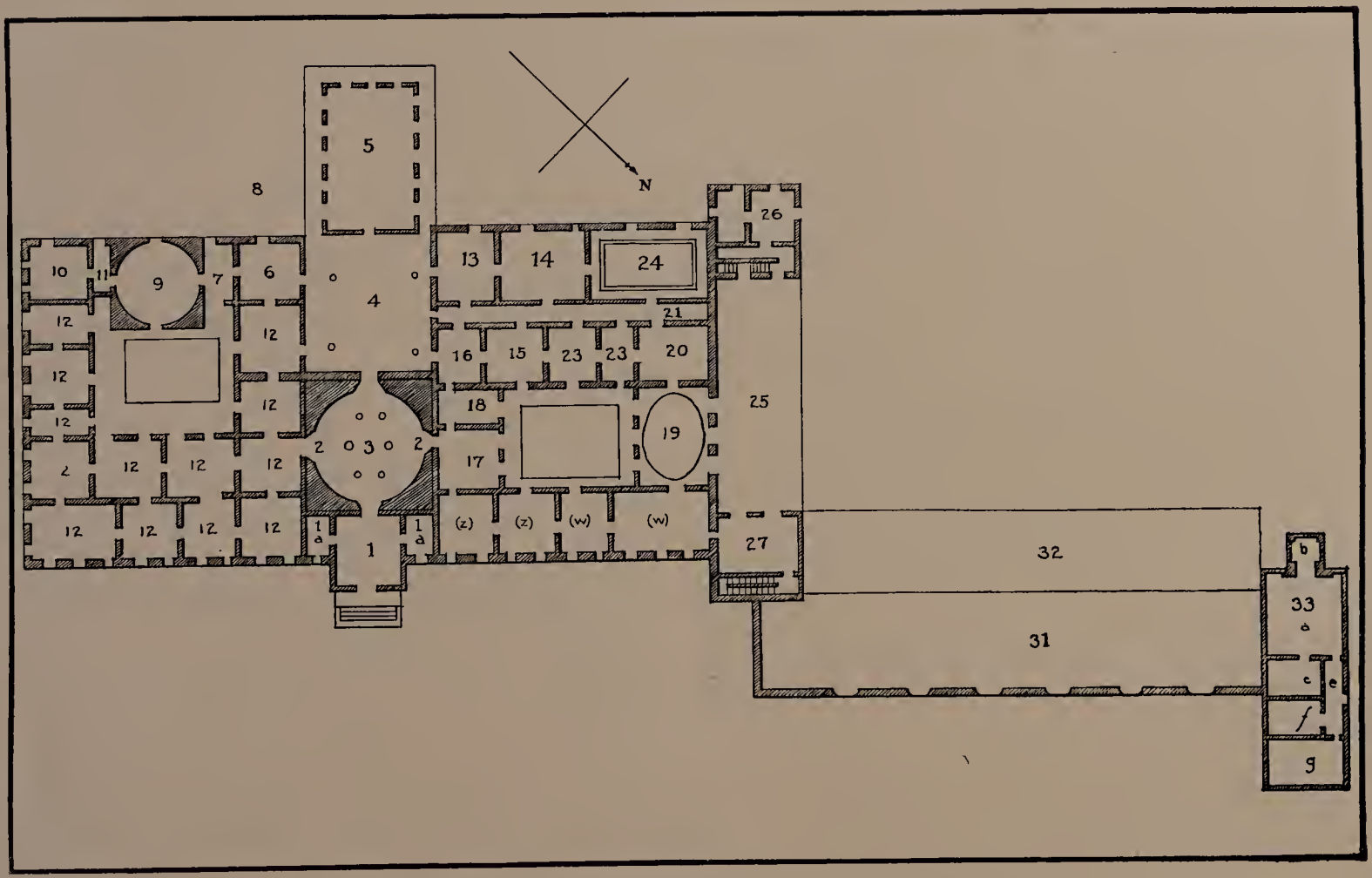


Plate 35

Laurentine Villa, Plan. Winnefeld, 1891



Laurentine Villa, Plan. After Hirt. Kreuser, 1894

Plate 36

KREUSER'S PLAN

(Plate 36)

This plan, called Grundriss einer Römischen Villa was published by Teubner to illustrate a selection of Pliny's letters with notes for the use of schools by Kreuser[81] when he was Oberlehrer at the Gymnasium at Prüm, in Germany.

1a are service rooms for the door boy, cellae janitoris, which are not mentioned in the text.

2 is a circle.

4 looks more like an atrium than a cavaedium with its four pillars.

9 is a circle, and is not situated at the outer wall of the house, as we so often find it.

26 and 27. The towers; w and z are diaetae, rooms, which ought to be within the towers.

28, 29 and 30. The garden and walk are not shown.

33d. The passage is not shown, though the other divisions of 33 are. But see Hirt's plan (plate 17).

MAGOUN'S PLAN

(Plate 37)

At a special session of the American Philological Association in 1894, Professor Magoun,[82] then at Oberlin College, read a paper on Pliny's Laurentine Villa in which he presented the plan here reproduced. He drew it he explains in order to give his class a better understanding of the letter and the description of the villa. This he executed before he knew of the existence of any other, and when he presented it at the meeting he had learned of others but had been able to see only Hirt's. He seems to be pleased that it is entirely different from his own except in the points of the compass, but I do not see how he could have expected them to be thought of as different, as the roads are so distinctly indicated in the letter. Two years later Professor Magoun reported that he had collected eleven others: Scamozzi, Félibien, Castell,

[81] Anton Kreuser, Ausgewählte Briefe des Jüngeren Plinius. Leipzig, 1894.

[82] Herbert Magoun, Pliny's Laurentine Villa. (See Bibliography.)

Marquez, Hirt, Haudebourt, Schinkel, Bouchet, Burn, Cowan and Winnefeld. He had intended, he wrote in a letter some time after that, to publish these eleven reconstructions together with his own in order to compare them in a critical study, and had even made large drawings for reproduction, but became dissatisfied with his own and decided to revise it before publication. This he has however never done. In view of his expressed dissatisfaction with his plan it is possible that he would have made the very corrections in it that are suggested below. It is of course quite impossible to determine that now. This plan has been reproduced in Westcott's [83] selections from Pliny's letters, and also in Selected letters of Pliny edited by G. B. Allen, published by the Oxford University Press in 1915.

1 is a normal atrium such as is found in town houses.

2 is nearly an ellipse. I cannot make out what the centre is supposed to indicate.

4 is a peristyle, which Magoun identifies with cavaedium.

8 the gymnasium seems to have a wall around it.

12, the slaves' apartments, could never have been adapted to the entertainment of a large number of guests.

18 omitted.

28. The garden shows a dining room built in, an arrangement frequently employed by the Romans.

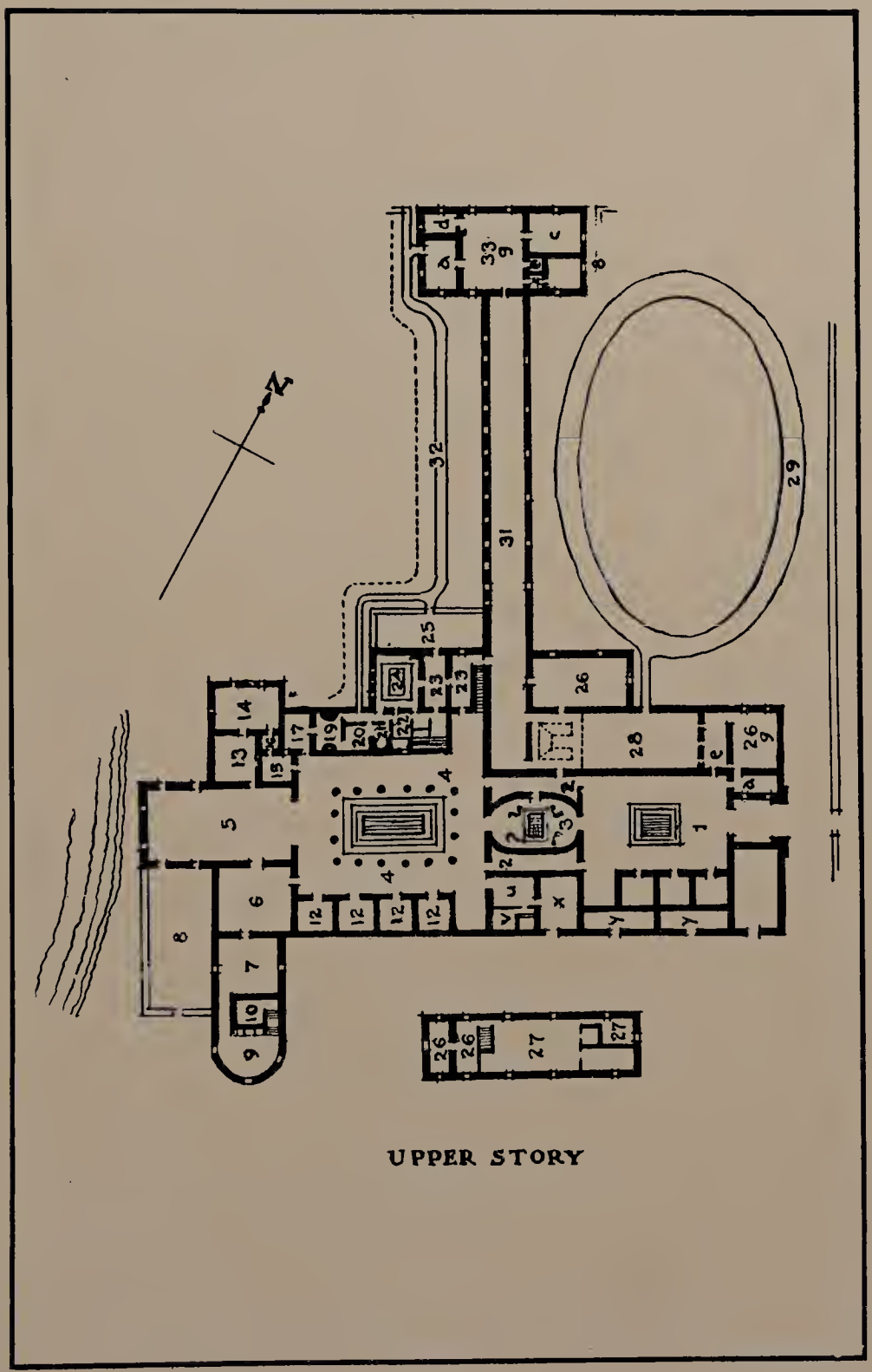
30 omitted.

29. The walk, gestatio, is in the form of the so-called stadium on the Palatine, a popular arrangement for gardens.

The greatest discrepancy from the text seems to be in the rooms which we mark 26 and 27, those which are in the towers. Magoun mentions no towers in his legend, but takes the separate rooms included in them and puts some on the ground floor and others on what he calls the "upper story," though he does not indicate over which lower part it should go. It seems quite unsatisfactory even if we assume that it covers 23 and 26 and spans the cryptoporticus.

The rooms on the west side of the atrium are labelled by Magoun as u, kitchen; v, larder; x, kitchen store room; and y, general store rooms.

[83] J. H. Westcott, Selected Letters of Pliny with Introduction and Notes by. Boston, 1898.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. Magoun, 1894

A BOY'S PLAN

(Plate 38)

This twelve year old boy, the son of an architect, himself an architect twenty years after this early attempt, translated the letter of Pliny and drew the reconstruction as an offering of affection for his mother, to whom the note book from which this reproduction is made is dedicated in a childish scrawl. The whole thing is charming and I see no reason why the grown architect need be ashamed to acknowledge it as his own, though I received permission to use it only on condition that I preserved his anonymity.

It is evident that the boy had access to the plans at the School of Architecture of Columbia University, as this plan bears a distinct resemblance to that of Loring (Plate 27).

2 is a D, but not a semicircle.

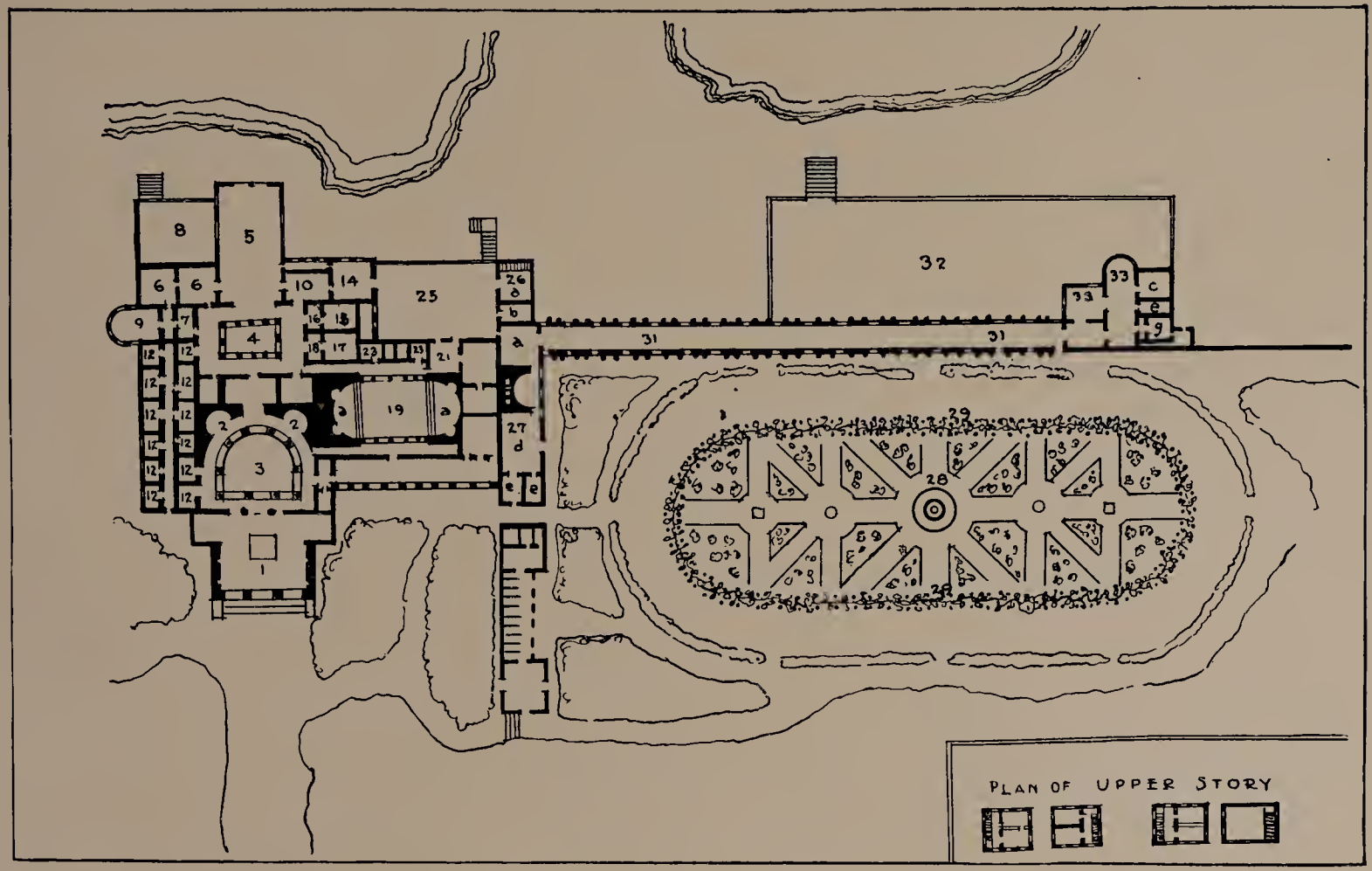
8 is a room, not a court.

10 is on the right side of the house, though it belongs on the side first mentioned.

12 is a double series of rooms which could very easily be thrown together to receive a large company.

26 and 27, the towers, present the difficulty so familiar in the work of some older students.

The study shows care in the reading of the text.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. After Loring. By A Young Boy, 1902

PLATE 38

ELFREDA KLADIVKO'S PLAN

(Plate 39)

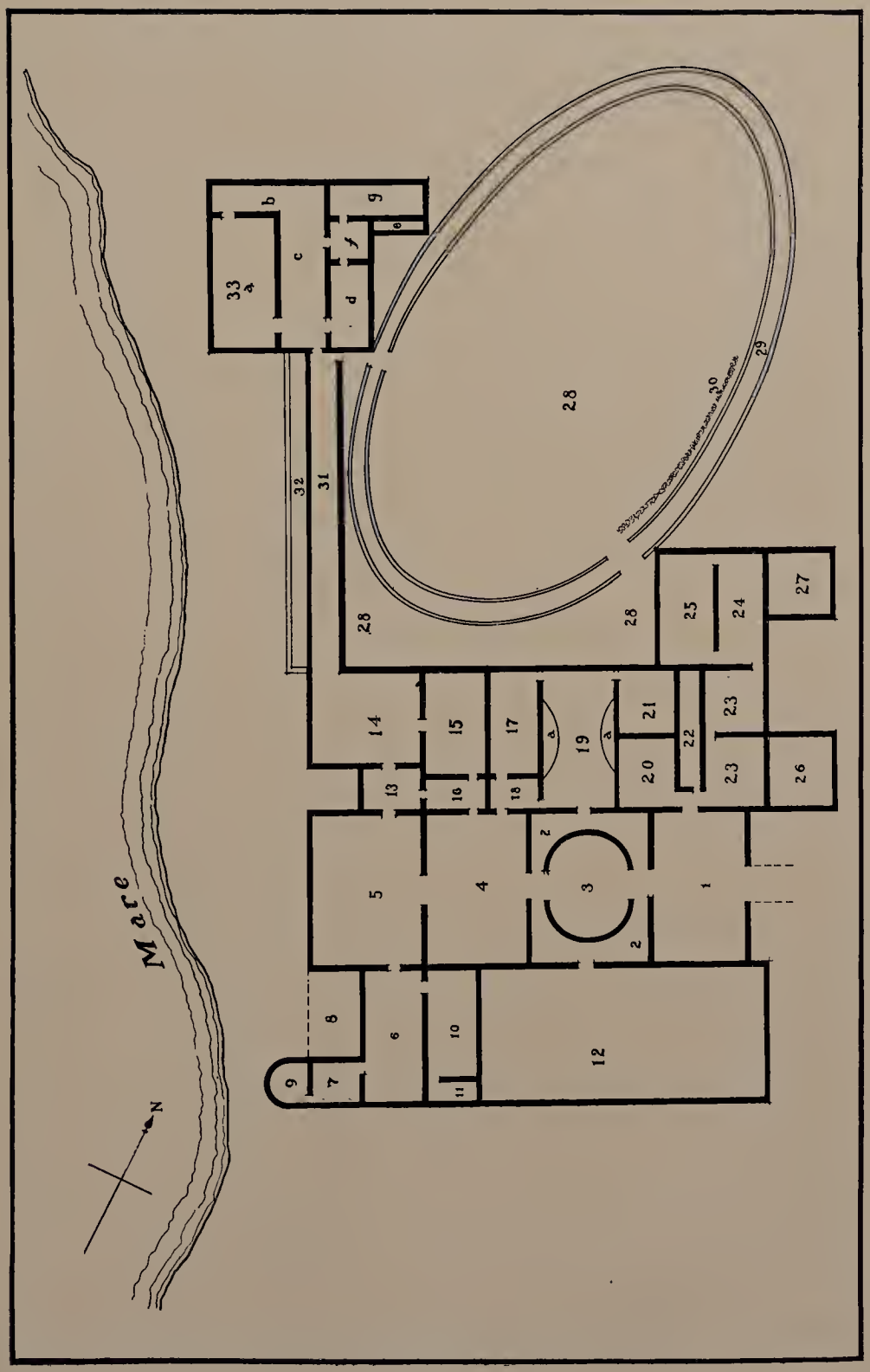
This plan was made as a labor of love by a young student of mine, a college sophomore, one of a class in Pliny's letters. Although I have for years past thrown out the suggestion to my students of Pliny that they draw their own plan when we study this letter and the Roman villa, this is the only one I have ever received that could be considered a reconstruction. The others were usually deficient in some respect. This study on the contrary, shows a careful study of the text. While Cowan's (Plate 33) plan was the chief source of inspiration, Magoun's plan (see Plate 37) was also accessible to the students, and that will probably account for the garden. Miss Kladivko drew this plan from the text, without being aware that she was following Cowan so far as she did.

There is not much to note.

26 and 27, the towers, are symmetrically placed.

28 is a hippodrome or stadium.

33, the garden suite, is too near to the sea; for if Pliny had really built it so near, he would, I think, have mentioned this situation with the special advantage it provided or the contrary. d is here a room, not a passageway.



LAURENTINE VILLA, PLAN. After Cowan, Kladivko, 1919

AUTHOR'S PLAN

(Plate 40)

In the case of my own plan I should perhaps, following the example of several of my predecessors, point out, with unbecoming lack of modesty, that it is in every respect much better than that made by any other student of Pliny.

I may be allowed to explain, however, that when I undertook this study of Pliny's villas I had no desire to draw a plan, but intended to confine myself to a critical examination of those I could find. But when I arrived at the conclusion that I must logically add another to the collection, I laid aside all the others and drew mine from the text alone.

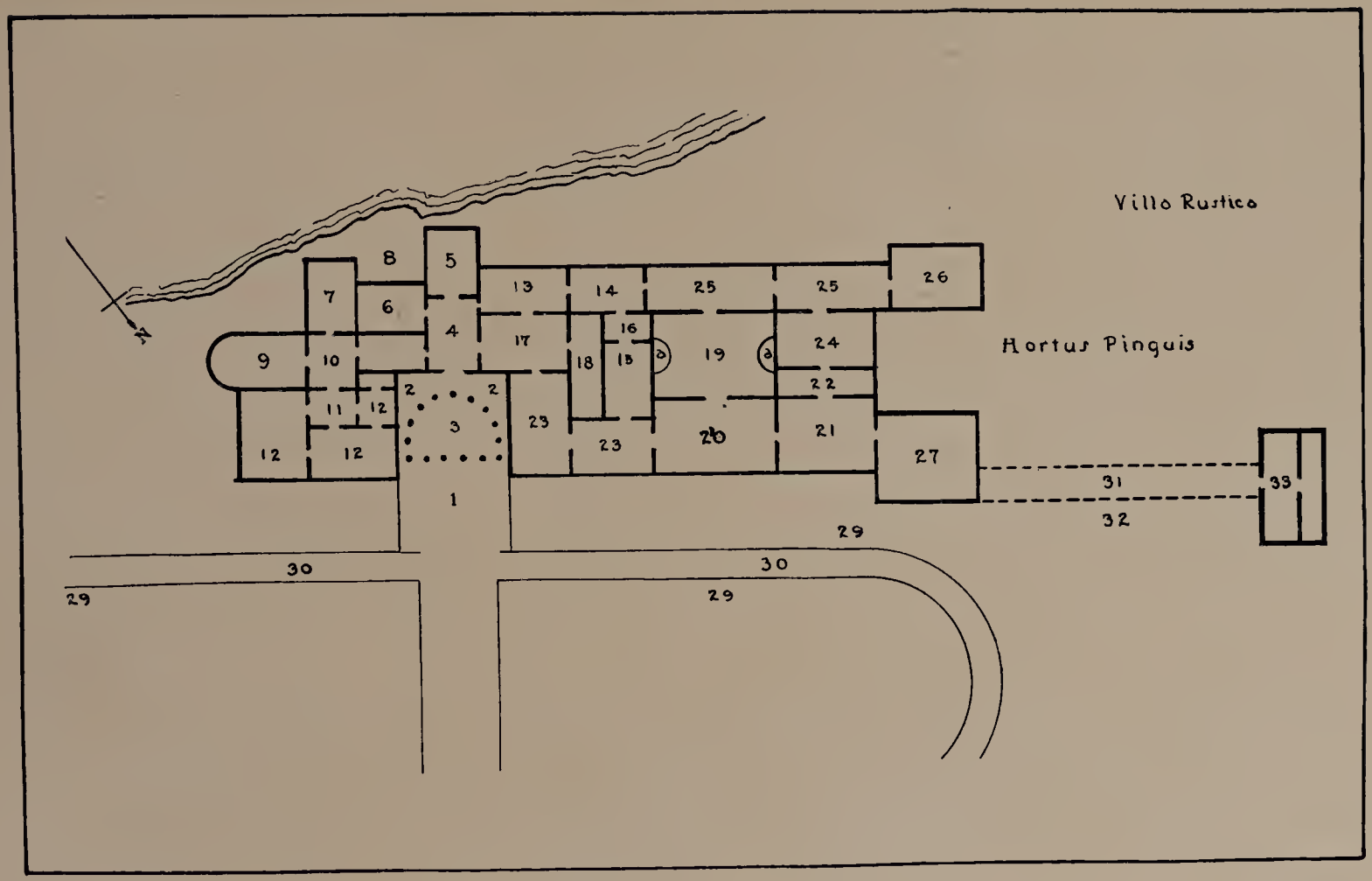
As I examine this reconstruction now in this review and comparison, I cannot see that it bears too close a resemblance to any of those that have gone before, although of course it must agree in many respects with those which seem to me to follow the text with a greater degree of care.

2 is a semicircle.

29, the walk, is properly in the form of a hippodrome; and while this is not specifically called for in the letter, it was common enough among the Romans to make it appear quite natural.

33. I think that Pliny's own study and private rooms are better in this position than nearer the water. The farm would lie at the end of the garden and extend on down to the shore, south and east, away from the house.

26 and 27, the towers, are better at the end of the main part of the house.



Laurentine Villa, Plan. Tanzer, 1921

TUSCAN VILLA

Legend

This legend applies to all the reproductions of the Tuscan Villa.

1. Porticus (15)	1. Porch
2. Atrium (16)	2. Atrium
3. Xystus	3. Terrace
4. Pulvinus	4. Bank
5. Ambulatio (17)	5. Walk
6. Gestatio	6. Driveway
7. Pratum (18)	7. Meadow
8. Campi	8. Fields
9. Prata alia	9. More meadows planted with trees
10. Triclinium (19)	10. Dining room
11. Hippodromus	11. Park
12. Areola (20)	12. Small court
13. Dormitorium (21)	13. Sleeping alcove
14. Cenatio cotidiana	14. Private dining room
15. Aliud cubiculum (22)	15. Another chamber
16. Amplissimum cubiculum (23)	16. Large chamber
17. Hypocauston (25)	17. Hypocaust
18. Apodyterium	18. Dressing room
19. Cella frigidaria	19. Swimming pool
20. Piscina	20. Outdoor pool
21. Media cella (26)	21. Warm room
22. Sphaeristerium (27)	22. Gymnasium
23. Scalae	23. Stairs
24. Diaetae tres	24. Three apartments
25. Cryptoporticus (28)	25. Gallery
26. Cubiculum	26. Chamber
27. Diaeta	27. Sitting room
28. Cryptoporticus aestiva (29)	28. Covered colonnade
29. Triclinium	29. Dining room
30. Scalae (30)	30. Stairs
31. Cubiculum	31. Chamber
32. Porticus (31)	32. Porch
33. Diaetae duae	33. Two apartments (3 rooms)
34. Diaetae duae	34. Two apartments (4 rooms)
35. Cubiculum adversum stibadium (36)	35. Chamber opposite stibadium
36. Stibadium	36. Marble bench
37. Zothecula (38)	37. Small alcove

Numbers in parentheses indicate paragraphs in the Latin text, pages 15 ff.

TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Félibien, 1699

FELIBIEN'S PLANS

(Plates 41 and 42)

Félibien[85] conceives of the principal buildings of the villa as crowded together in a space which he estimates as not exceeding 300 feet in extent. Within this space he makes eight complete apartments; four at the corners, each with light and air on four sides; a fifth with windows only on the west; and two large and two small "pavillons" which kept the sun off. The other three apartments occupy three sides of the court, the fourth (south)

[85] J. F. Félibien des Avaux, Les Plans et les Descriptions de deux des Plus Belles Maisons de Campagne de Pline le Consul. Amsterdam, 1706.

side of which consists of a double open portico running the whole length of the front of the centre of the house.

Félibien supposes that somewhere in this house Pliny had offices, store rooms etc., probably below the ground floor, or on the level of the lower gallery, which could be reached by the same stairs (30) that were used in serving meals on the upper gallery.

2. Atrium, not an atrium in the Roman style, more like a portico or porch.

3. See next plate.

9 lies west of the house.

10. The dining room lies east of the porch, separated from it, and not at the end of it as it should be according to the text. Cf. 16.

11. The park is on the east side of the house, which brings it properly on the same side as 10 which has a view of it.

12. The little court occupies the centre of the house, the rooms are grouped around it. It seems rather large in proportion to the neglected atrium.

14. The dining room is properly in a straight line running back from the porch in order to have the same view as the latter.

15. Félibien places this east of the court, though I think it should come nearer the pair of rooms 13 and 14, as it is mentioned in the text immediately after them, with no remarks to indicate that it was separated from them.

16. The large chamber could hardly have the sun all day long as the bath rooms flank it on the west and project beyond it on the south.

19a is the basin, oval in shape, set in the wall of the indoor pool.

20 is the outdoor pool with the basin a rectangle.

21, the warm room, probably the three pools or tubs were set into the west wall.

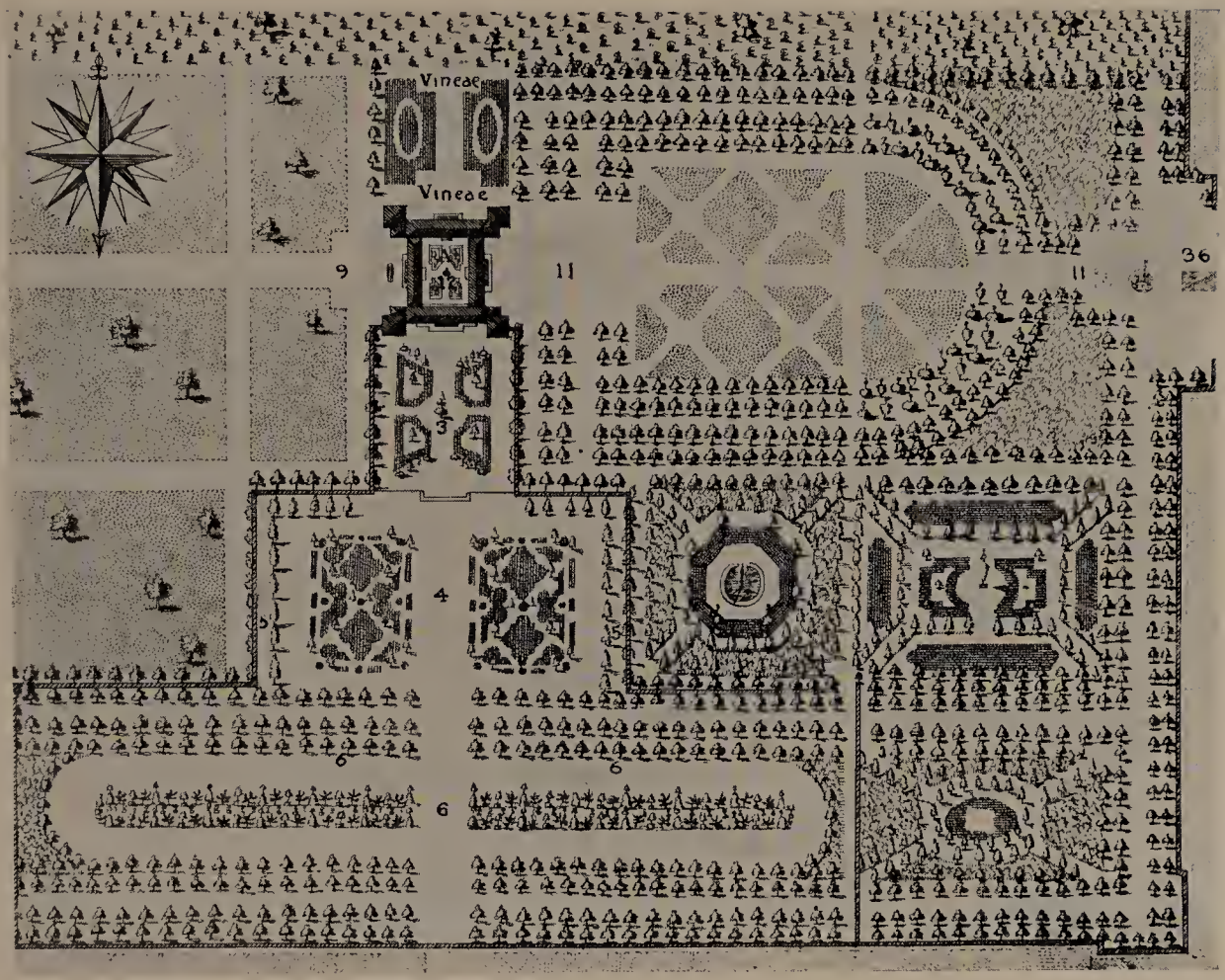
22 not shown.

24. Félibien takes these diaetae as suites in every case, they could be regarded as separate sitting rooms.

25. This gallery he puts behind and above the entrance porch.

26 ought to be near 25, close to the room cut off the end of it, but Félibien puts it far away. It could hardly have the full sun as shown here.

27 is a suite of three rooms.



Tuscan Villa, Plan of Whole Estate. Félibien, 1699

The last sentence in paragraph 28 in the text indicating that the parts of the house described thus far are grouped together in the front, and the first sentence of the next showing that Pliny is going on to describe the side of the house seem to have made little or no impression on Félibien; and he shows as little regard for the description of 31 and 32.

The plan of the whole estate is really charming. The whole group of buildings, indicated by A, appears quite insignificant as it is here set in a great park. At the east end of the hippodrome is the garden suite with the stibadium and the fountain.

6 is laid out like a real circus.

CASTELL'S PLANS

(Plates 43 and 44)

Castell's[86] reconstruction is quite different from Félibien's. The house has the general form of a Latin cross, set on a wide base; it is bilaterally symmetrical, cf. A in plate 44, the second porch, 32, forms the stem of the cross.

Plate 43 lacks 3–9 (but see next plate); also 20, 22, 24, 26, 29 30, 31.

1. The porch is on either side of the vestibule and atrium.

2. Atrium is more like an oecus or a peristyle than an atrium.

10. Dining room, very large, is set at the end of the porch and to the west of it.

12. The little court opens not on the porch but on the crypto-porticus (25), and is surrounded by only the three rooms next mentioned (13, 14, 15).

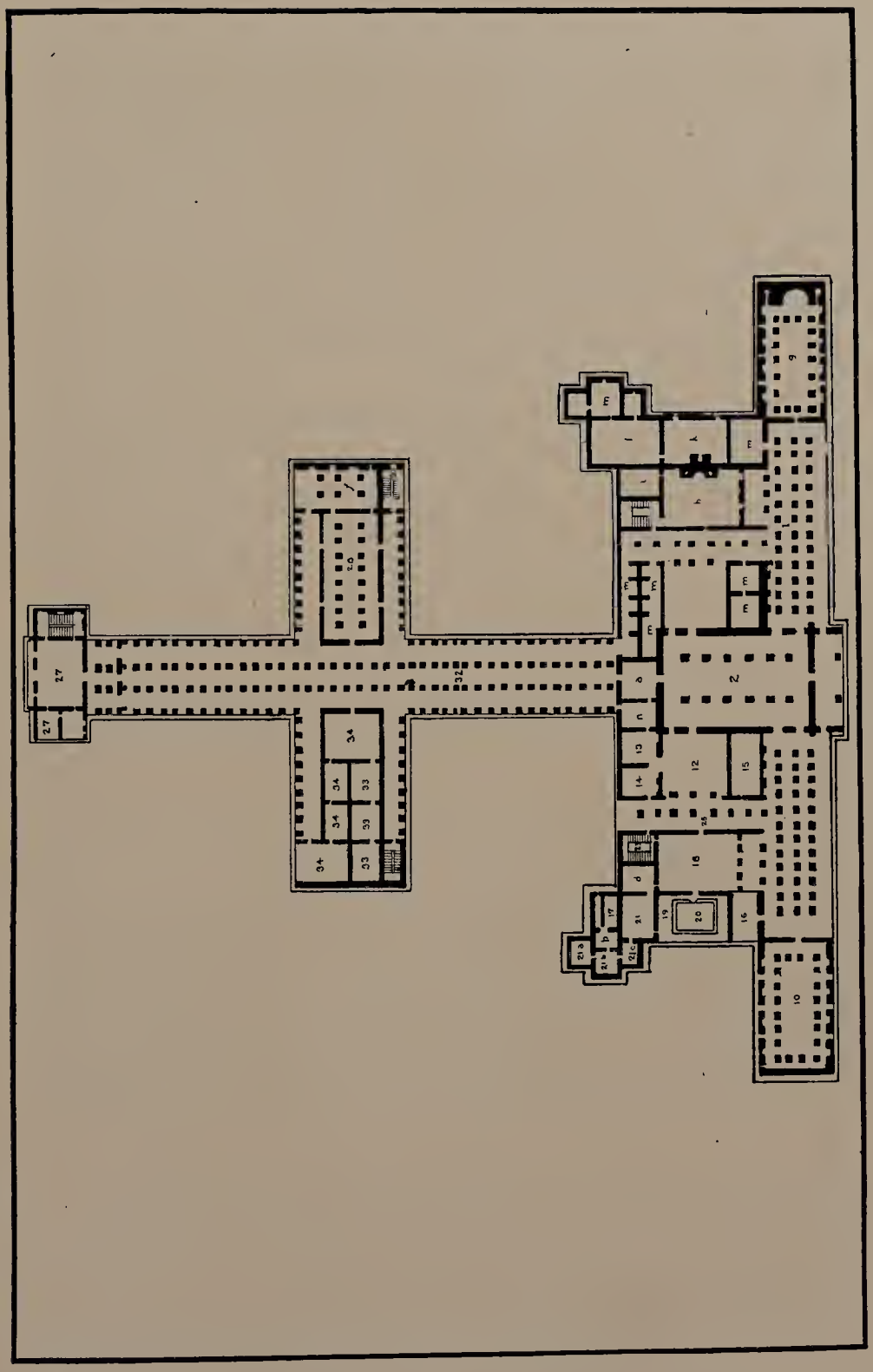
16. The large chamber is here no larger than those just noted and the hypocaust, which is supposed to furnish heat for it in cold weather, is too far away.

18. The dressing room seems very large and also too far away from the source of heat.

21. Castell makes a caldarium as an extra room. a, b, c of 21 are the tubs or pools, and the extra b Castell calis the propnigeon or steam room.

22 and 24 were no doubt upstairs, and we have the stairs (23) shown adjoining 18.

[86] Robert Castell, The Villas of the Ancients. London, 1728.



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR. Castell, 1728

25. The covered gallery is set at right angles to the front porch (1). There is however no provision for the room cut off the end of it; even if Castell intended to put it in the upper story it could not have here the view it should have according to the text.

26 not indicated, perhaps also upstairs.

27. A suite is at the farthest end of the house, forming the top of the cross.

Castell pays no attention to the arrangement of rooms as "at the front" or "at the side."

28. The covered colonnade with f, bibliotheca, a library, at the east end of it, balances the suites of rooms 33 and 34 as the two arms of the cross, of which 32 the porch is the stem. It (32) runs from the main part of the house back (north) to end at 27.

The other rooms indicated by letters are donated by Castell, so to speak, from his knowledge of what any Roman villa might contain. Most of them are in the principal wing of the house.

LEGEND OF ADDITIONAL ROOMS

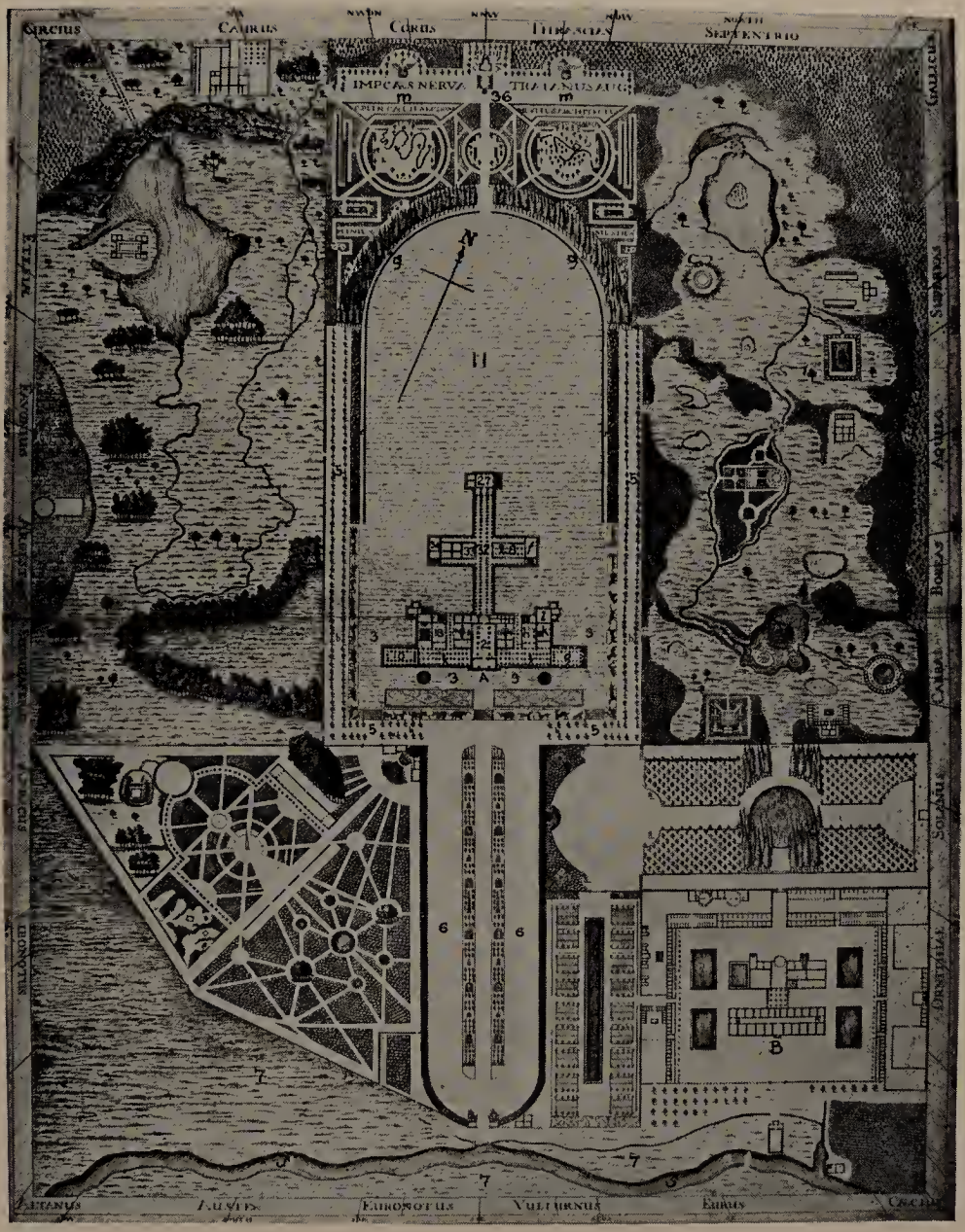
a. tablinum (master's room in normal Roman house).
b. propnigeon, steam room.
c. hypocaust (an extra one, at 27).
d. unctorium, anointing room.
e. scalae, stairs.
f. bibliotheca, library (at 28).
g. basilica, council room.
h. culina, kitchen.
i. carnarium, pantry, larder.
k. furnus, oven.
l. apotheca vini, wine store room.
m. cellae servorum, slaves' quarters.
n. procoeton, anteroom.

(Plate 44)

The original drawing of Castell from which this is reduced is a folding plate in a folio volume. This small plate gives only a general idea of the delightful drawing in which we may find almost everything that Pliny mentions in his letter.

The house, indicated by A, is set in the park (11).

3. The terrace is southwest of the house.



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN OF WHOLE ESTATE. Castell, 1728

5. The walk is all around the house on three sides leading up to the curve of the park at the north end. The rows of animals cut from box can be clearly seen.

6. The driveway stretches far away to the south, almost touching the river (s).

7. The meadows lie south and west of the driveway.

9. Meadows planted with trees are within the park (11) around the house at the southeast and beyond to the north.

36. At the northern end of the estate, at the end of the park we have the marble bench, the chamber and the alcove, behind which the name of Pliny's wife Calpurnia is spelled in flowers. At either side are more floral intricacies, Imperial eagles and the names of two of the Emperors in whose time Pliny lived, Nerva and Trajan; close by is the walk with the acanthus leaves. A little to the south on either side of the curve of the park are the names Plinius and Mustus, the architect.

B is the farmhouse, with all its divisions indicated, and all around are the other parts of the surrounding scenery mentioned in the text. The Latin names of all the winds with the direction of each are indicated in the margin of the plate.

KRUBSACIUS' PLAN

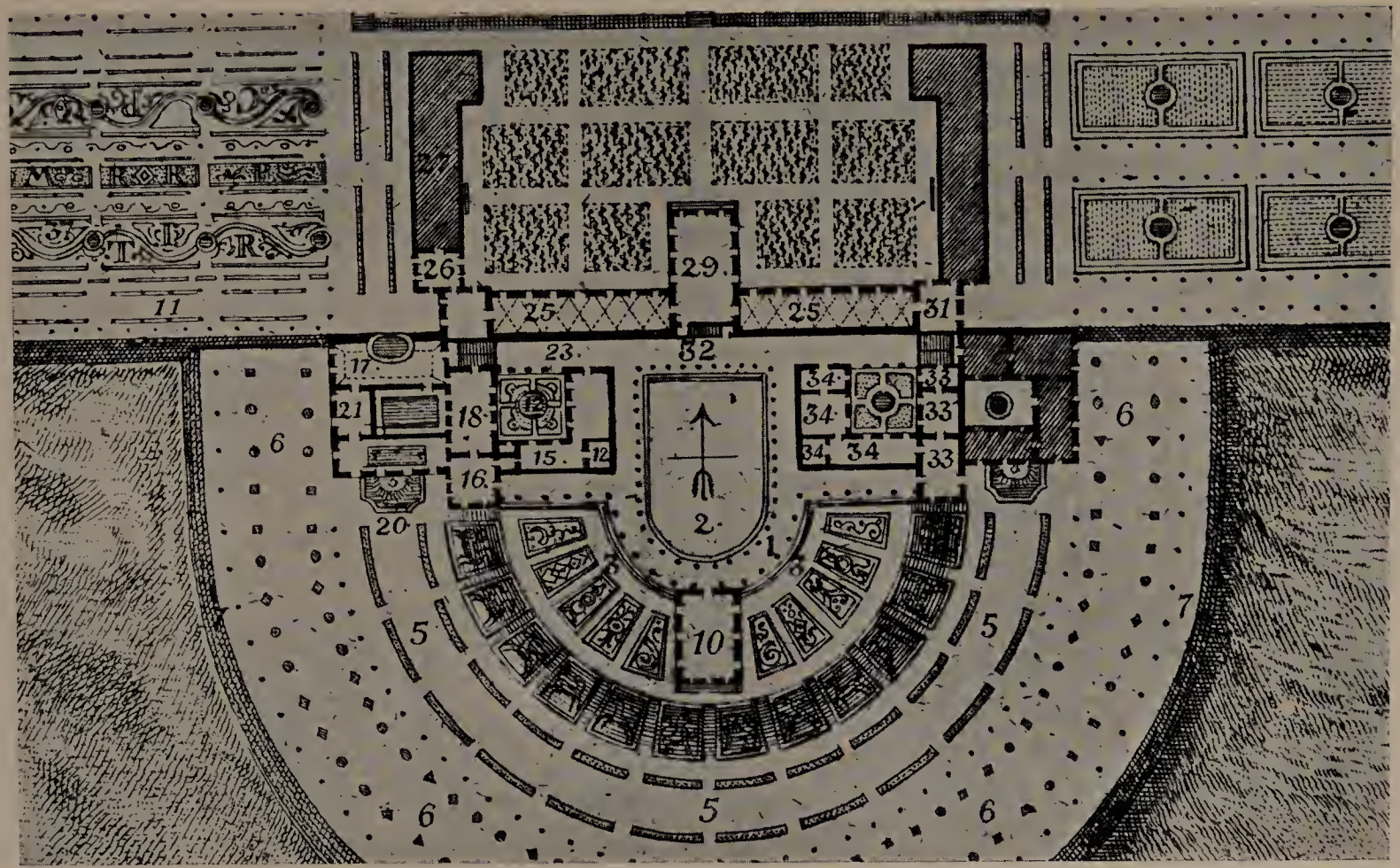
(Plate 45)

The full title of the work of Krubsacius from which this plan is taken is: Wahrscheinlicher Entwurf von des Jüngern Plinius Landhause und Garten in der Toscanischen Gegend Gelegen, nach Anzeige seines 6ten Briefes des 5ten Buches an den Apollinaris, durch Anmerkungen und Risse Erklärt; in Das Neueste aus der Anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit, No. 11, Leipzig, November 1762.

The only copy of this book in this country is in the Library of the University of Chicago, and lacks the December number for 1762. It seems natural to suppose that there was another part, as in the case of the articles on the Laurentine villa two years earlier, especially as the title as printed above speaks of drawings (in the plural) *Risse*. The missing plate would probably be the elevation or the perspective. This work was also published separately, but I have been unable to find any trace of the whereabouts of a copy outside of the archives of the state library at Dresden, where the original drawings were deposited.

The general shape is that of the Roman theatre, with the principal rooms of the house occupying an oblong rectangle towards the back.

1. The porch is curved at the inner edge of the circular portion and extends out in a straight line at either side of the atrium.



Tuscan Villa, Plan. Krubsacius, 1762

2. The atrium, not at all the city atrium. The other rooms are grouped symmetrically at either side.

3–7. The terrace etc. follow the sweep of the porch in widening circular curves, and we can see the box trees and even the animals facing one another.

8 and 9 wanting.

10. The dining room has the correct view, but it should be situated at the end of the porch, and not at the middle as here.

11. The park is only partially indicated.

12. The little court is to the west of the atrium.

16. The large chamber stands at the corner of the portico, but it by no means projects toward the dining room, nor balances it.

17. wanting.

21. Krubsacius adds a warm room to the "middle room" and omits 22.

28 is not here indicated unless it is supposed to lie above 25; which might be possible, as 29 the dining room should be at the centre of 28. But on the other hand 25 belonged to the rooms at the front of the house and 28 to those at the side.

32. The porch ought to be behind the cryptoporticus.

33 and 34. The suites of rooms extend from the porch as they should, but they do not approach the hippodrome nor do they follow any of its lines.

35–37 not shown here.

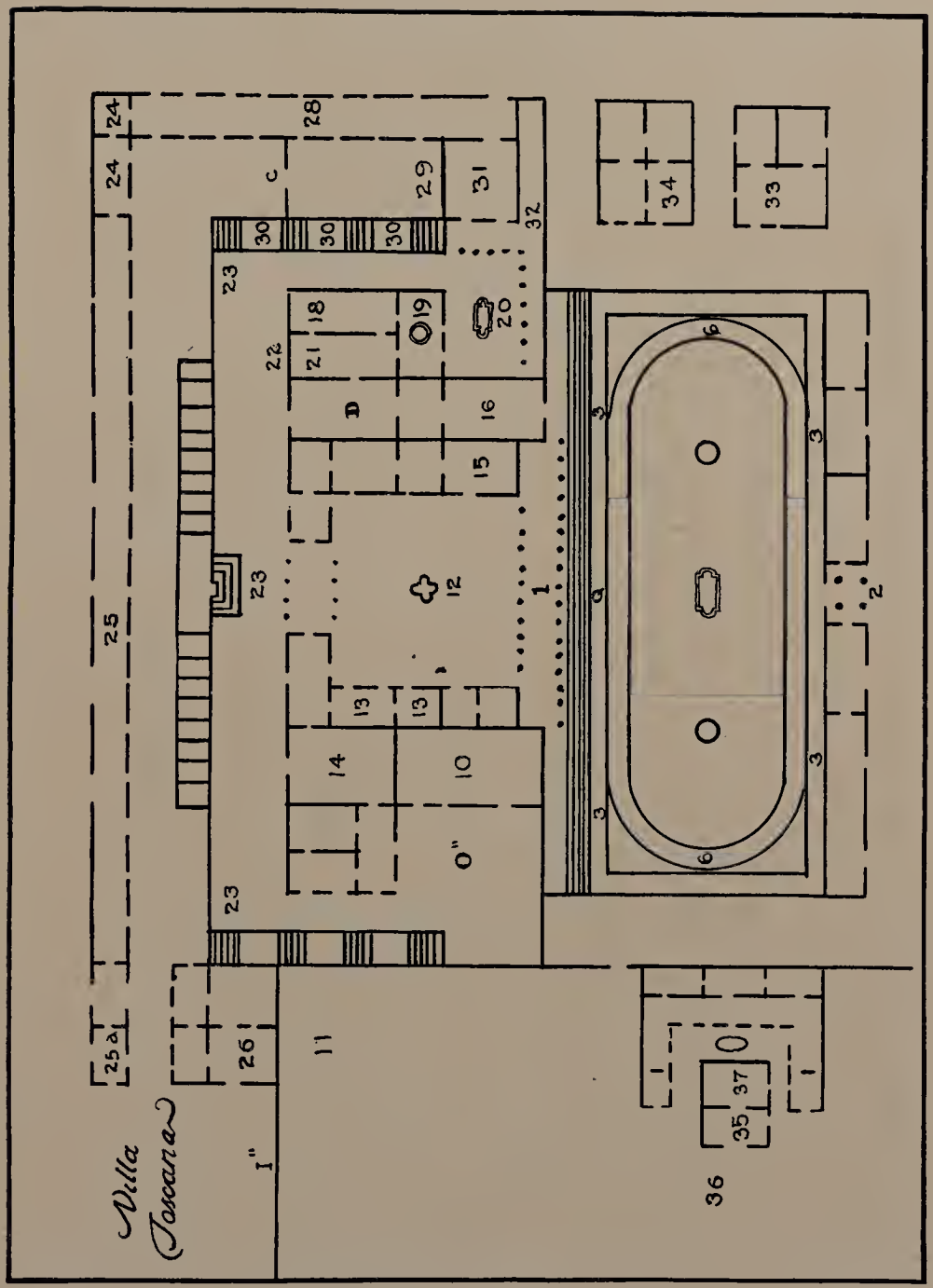
MARQUEZ' PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE

(Plates 46 and 47)

This plan[87] is very pleasing and archaeologically correct although the perspective does not seem to correspond exactly to the plan. The house is arranged on the general plan so familiar in southern countries where the parts are grouped around a central court, reminiscent of the *patio* type of house.

1. The portico is at the entrance to the inner court and connects it with the front portion of the house.

[87] D. Pietro Marquez, Delle Ville di Plinio il Giovane. Rome, 1796.



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Marquez, 1796

TUSCAN VILLA, PERSPECTIVE. Marquez, 1796

2. The atrium is at the entrance to the front court yard, which forms the walk and driveway (3–6).

12 is the centre, with the other rooms mentioned grouped around it.

21. Marquez puts in an extra warm room, indicated on the plan by D.

22. The gymnasium seems here to be out of doors, lying beyond the bath rooms.

24. This suite of rooms should have three rooms, here there are only two, leading directly into the gallery, 25.

27 lacking.

33 and 34, the suites of rooms, also 35–37 the marble bench and outdoor room are separated from the main parts of the house, and since they are not indicated on the perspective it is not possible to be sure just how Marquez would have reconstructed this part of the house.

The perspective seems to me altogether delightful, so much so that it seems almost a pity to regard it critically. But it is a fact that I cannot entirely reconcile the perspective with the plan.

HIRT'S PLAN AND ELEVATION

(Plates 48 and 49)

The house [88] has the general shape of the letter E.

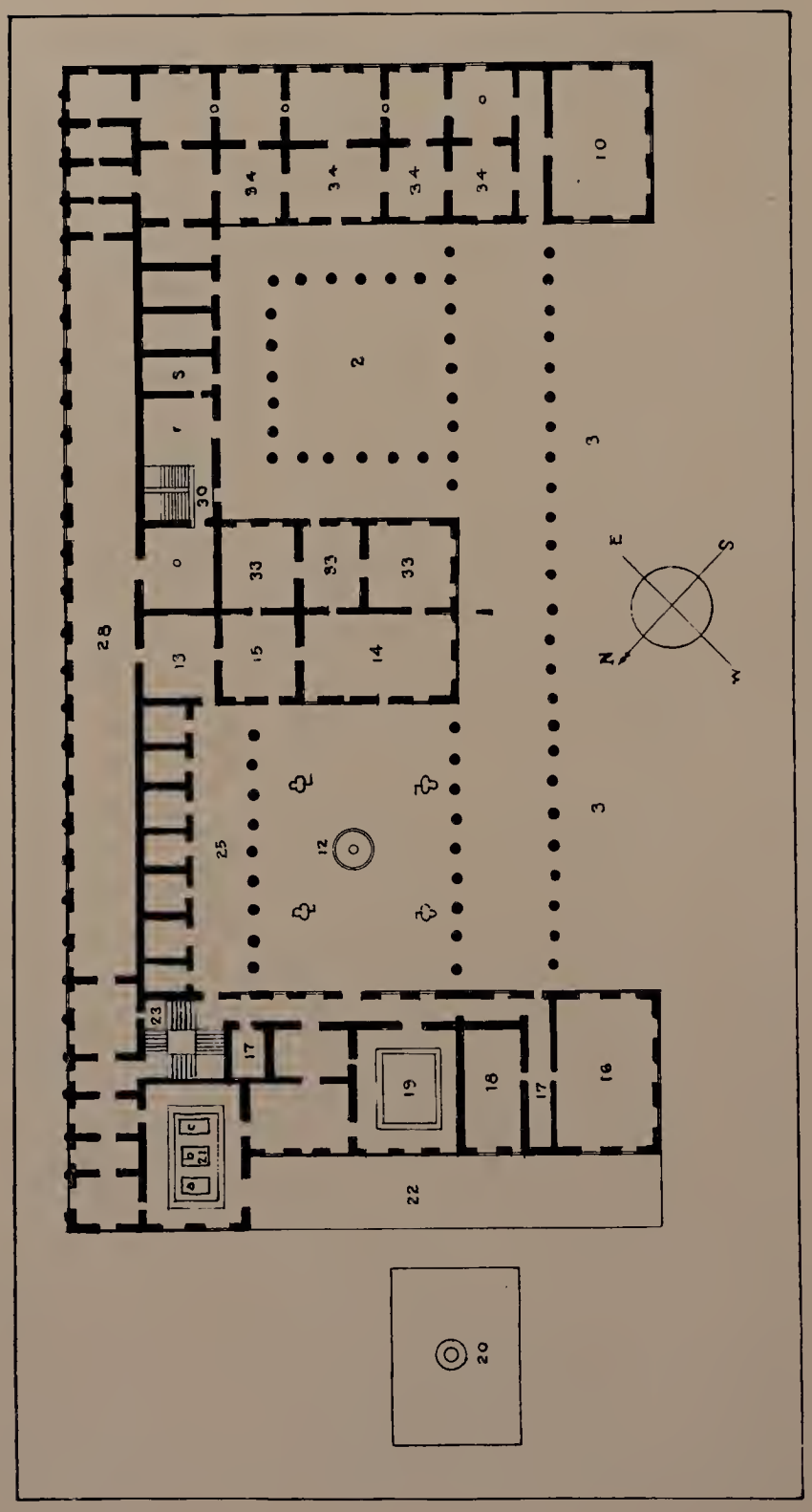
1. The entrance porch runs the whole length from one end of the wing to the other; the central portion of the house is divided into two parts; at the s.e. we have

2. The atrium and the rooms around it, at the n.w.

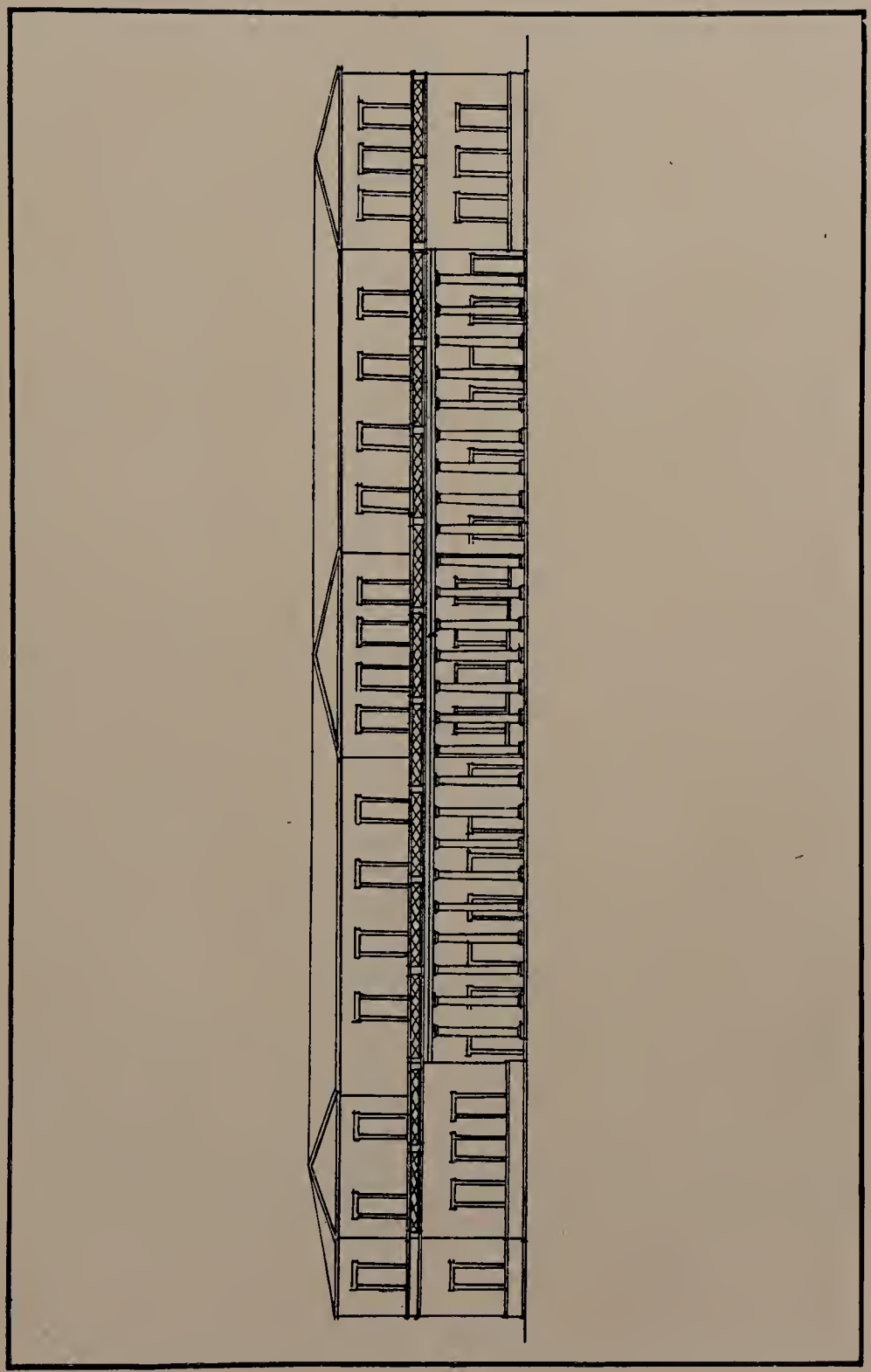
12. The small court with its suite of rooms surrounding it on three sides, the bath rooms at the outside or n.w.

10, the dining room, and 16, the chamber, correspond at either end of the outer wings.

[88] A. Hirt, Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten. Berlin, 1827. Vol. III. Die Lehre der Gebäude bei den Griechen und Römern.



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Hirt, 1827



Tuscan Villa, Elevation. Hirt, 1827

28, the cryptoporticus, runs almost the entire length of the house, across the farther or n.e. part. Hirt also puts in an extra warm room (21).

24 would be in the upper story.

The elevation I take to be from the back partly because the plan was so marked and also because of the two stories which probably indicate the covered colonnade.

All of the gardens and outside buildings are omitted, including even the dining room projecting out into the vineyards.

In addition to the rooms discussed above, mentioned by Pliny, Hirt put in several rooms not mentioned; two around the atrium which are indicated on the plan by r, the kitchen, and s, a store room.

SCHINKEL'S RECONSTRUCTION

(Plates 50, 51, 52)

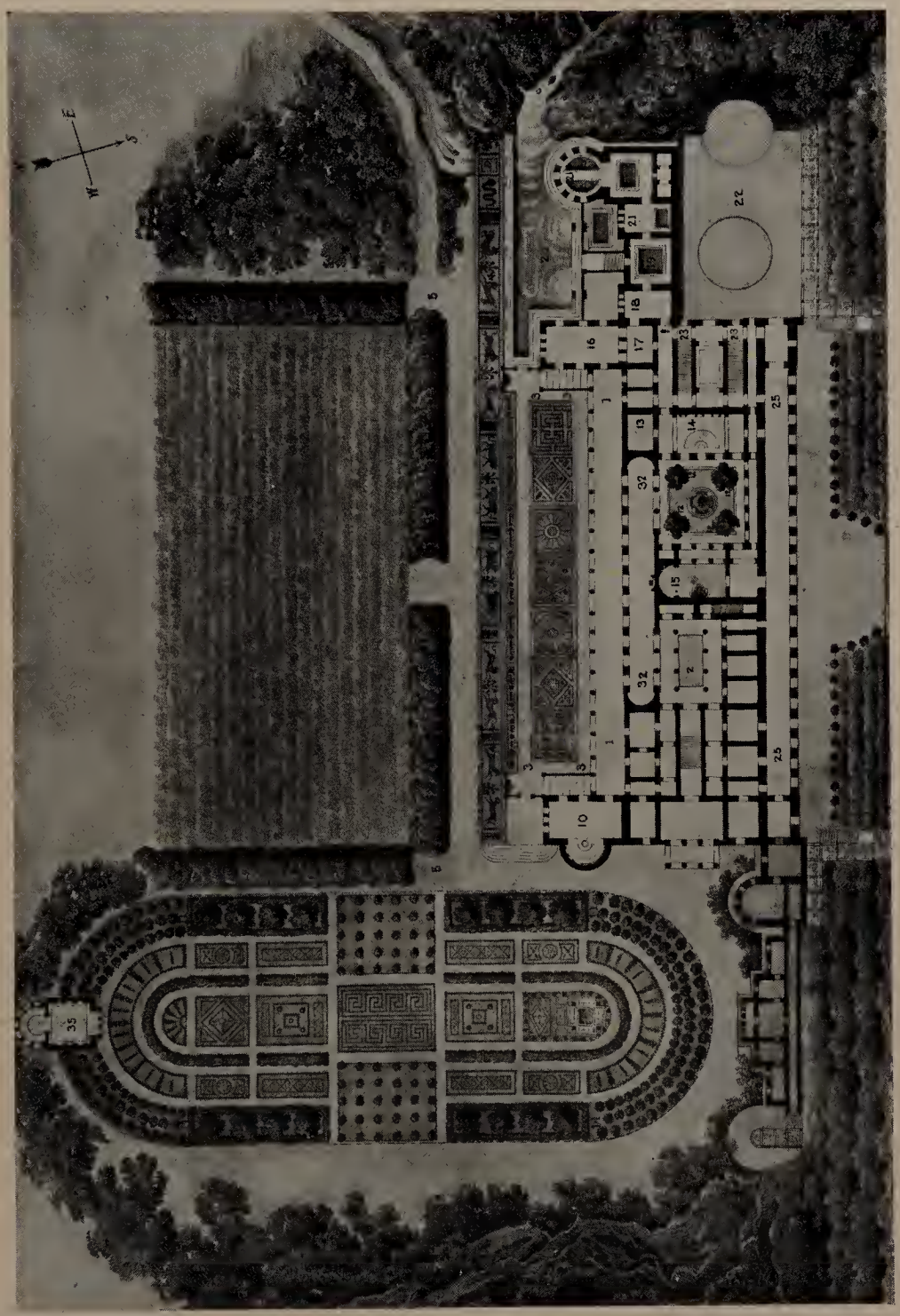
This plan[89] shows a distinct influence by Hirt (see Plate 48), differing in details only notwithstanding the statement of the editors of Schinkel that although the latter used Hirt's translation of Pliny's letter, his drawings have absolutely not the slightest connection with Hirt's restoration. The whole thing is however much more picturesque and therefore much more attractive than Hirt's.

Unlike Marquez' drawings, there is a very close correspondence between plan and perspective, though the latter is viewed from a direction a little more westerly than the plan.

The second porch 32 is here directly behind the entrance porch 1. The dining couches are indicated in 10 and in 14; the fountain in 15. Schinkel put in the extra warm room for the bath rooms. Except for 32 the parts of the house numbered above 25 in the legend are not indicated here, though it would be quite natural to have the covered colonnade 28 and the dining room 29 situated behind 25; while 33 and 34 the suites might perhaps be found behind the park.

In the perspective we see a second story throughout.

[89] Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Architektonisches Album, Heft VII. Potsdam, 1841.



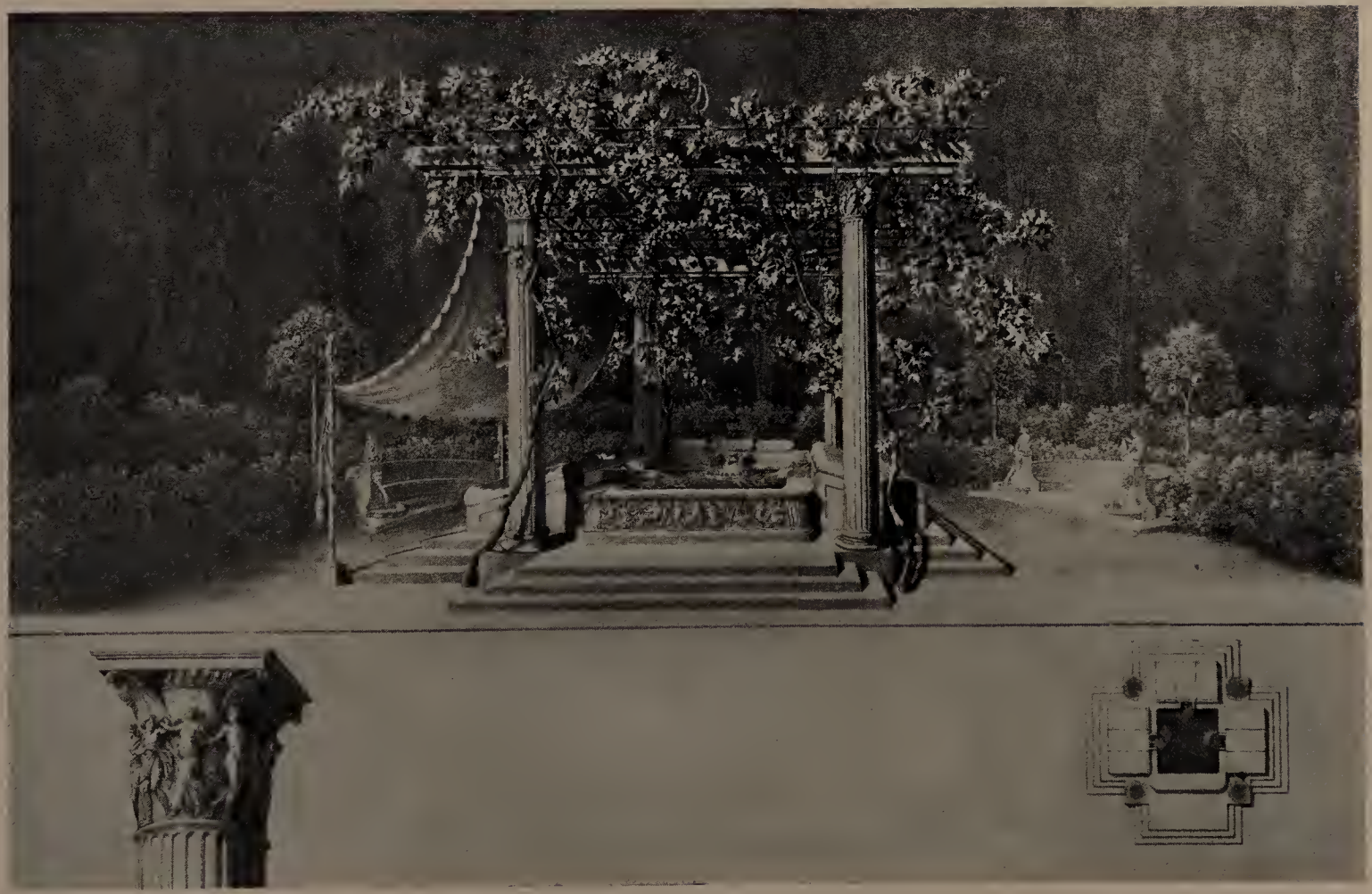
Tuscan Villa, Plan. Schinkel, 1841

The lawn, garden etc. are well shown and greatly enhance the pleasure of studying this house. Pliny might well have been content with a house of such comfort and beauty of situation as are suggested especially by the perspective. This is the picture reproduced by Von Falke to indicate what kind of villa a Roman gentleman might occupy.

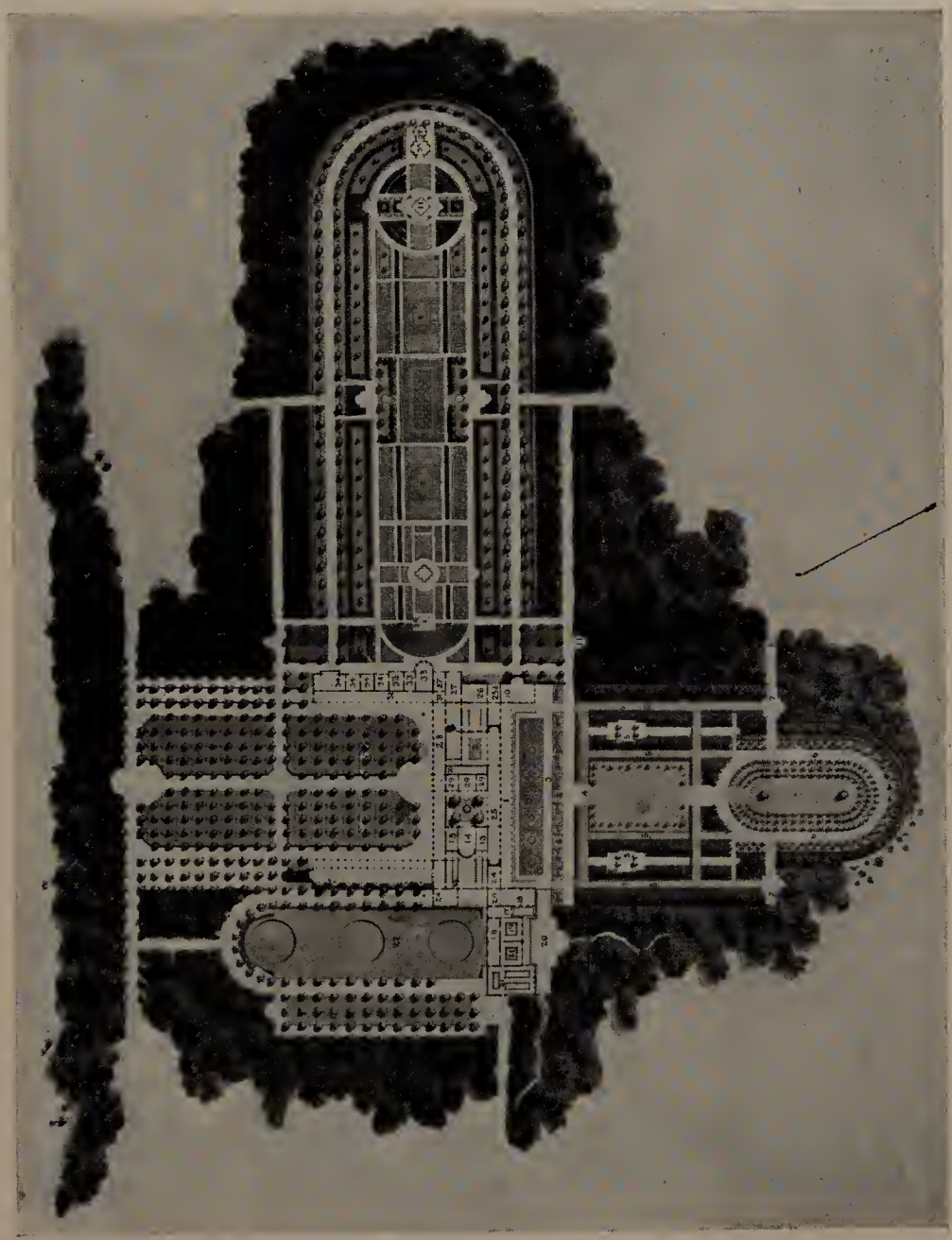
By way of supplement we have a separate sketch of the marble bench and the basin and fountain. In the plan we have the stibadium a long distance away from the chamber, 35, though opposite it in that it is at the other end of the park.

Plate 52 presents a much more elaborate conception of the stibadium than the general idea of the word, and Schinkel expands the marble bench into a complete triclinium or outdoor dining arbor. The four marble columns with their graceful capitals, the strong and well trained vines, the protecting velum which kept off the western sun and the two marble benches at either side and a little to the rear all combine to give us a most happy picture of the delights of Pliny's *Tuscum*. If it was a happy thought on Pliny's part to describe it, it was no less happy on Schinkel's part to include it in his reconstruction.

Tuscan Villa, Perspective. Schinkel, 1841



TUSCAN VILLA, STIBADIUM. Schinkel, 1841



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Meyer, 1859

MEYER'S PLAN

(Plate 53)

This plan is strongly influenced by Schinkel (see Plate 50), though differing in details. Nothing mentioned in the text is

omitted from this study,[90] the details are carefully observed excepting that the extra warm room for the baths is found here.

The gallery 25 lies behind the entrance porch 1; 28 the covered colonnade is parallel to them, behind the main rooms of the house. 32, the second porch is at the side (s.e.), with the suites 33 and 34. One of the departures from Schinkel's plan is that the gymnasium is longer and stretches out towards the n.e. instead of toward the n.w. as Schinkel's does; and that the park 11, runs east instead of south. But there are many resemblances, even to having the marble bench 36 at the opposite end of the park from 35 to 37; 36 in both cases being nearer the house while 35 and 37 are at the farther end of the park.

WINNEFELD'S PLAN

(Plate 54)

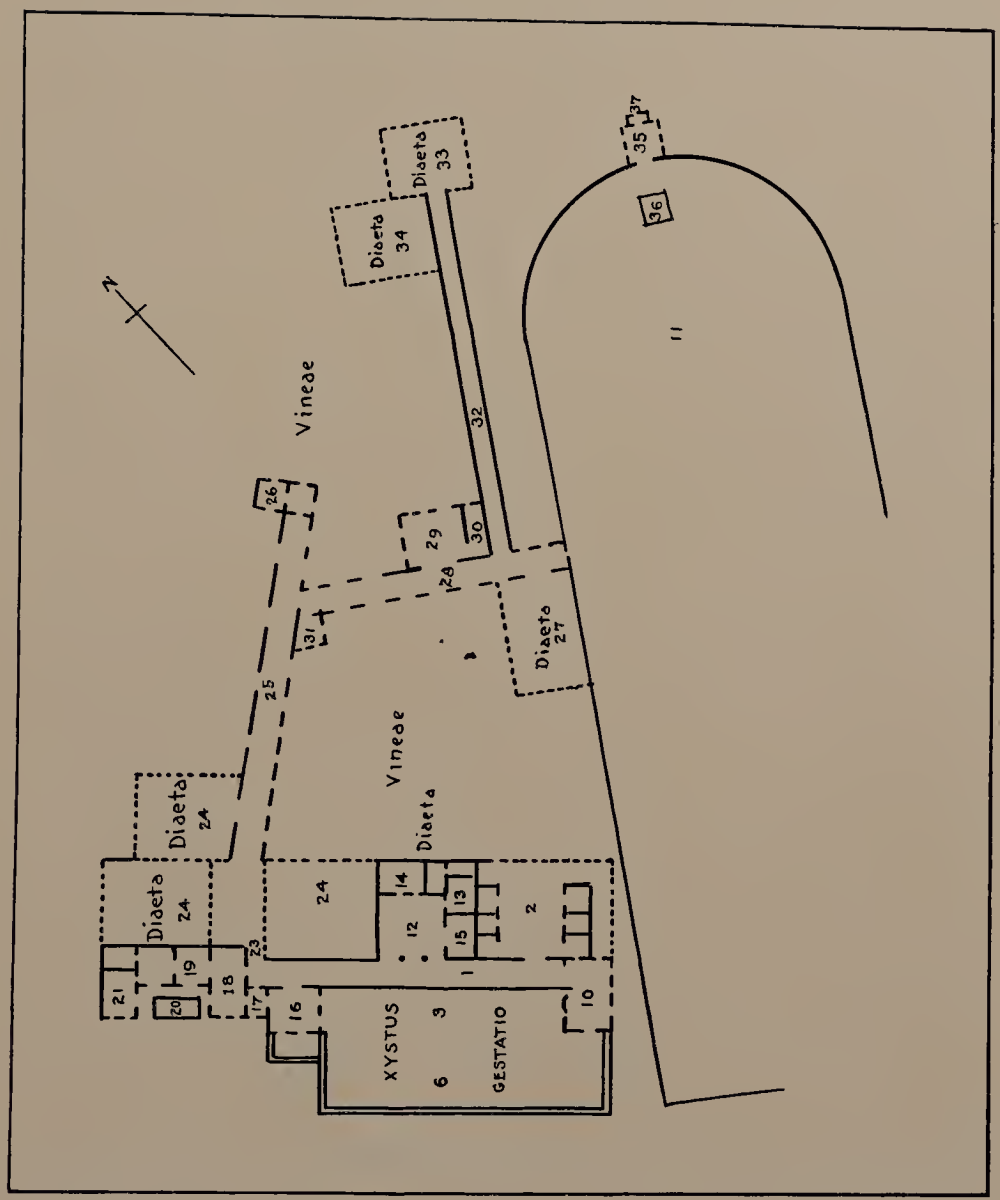
This plan, like the same author's [91] plan of the Laurentine villa is little more than a sketch, though every part is indicated except the garden and the fields (4, 5, 7, 8, 9), and 22 the gymnasium which is also omitted. There are four different directions indicated: the main part of the house runs n.w. to s.e.; 25 the gallery, s.w. to n.e.; 28 the covered colonnade has the same general direction as the house itself, but pointing more to the east; and 32 the second porch, n.e., parallel to the park. The general plan corresponds roughly to Hirt's plan for the main rooms, with the atrium 2 and the little court 12 sharing the centre of the house

Winnefeld recognizes that *diaeta* may mean either a single room or a suite, but thinks that Pliny had a suite for each diaeta in this villa. He shows the extra bath room.

The stibadium and the other parts that go with it, 35–37. Winnefeld puts into the park, but near together.

[90] Gustav Meyer, Lehrbuch der Schönen Gartenkunst. Berlin, 1873. Pt. I. p. 15 f.

[91] Hermann Winnefeld, Tusci und Laurentinum des Jüngeren Plinius. (See Bibliography.)



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Winnefeld, 1891

GOTHEIN'S PLAN

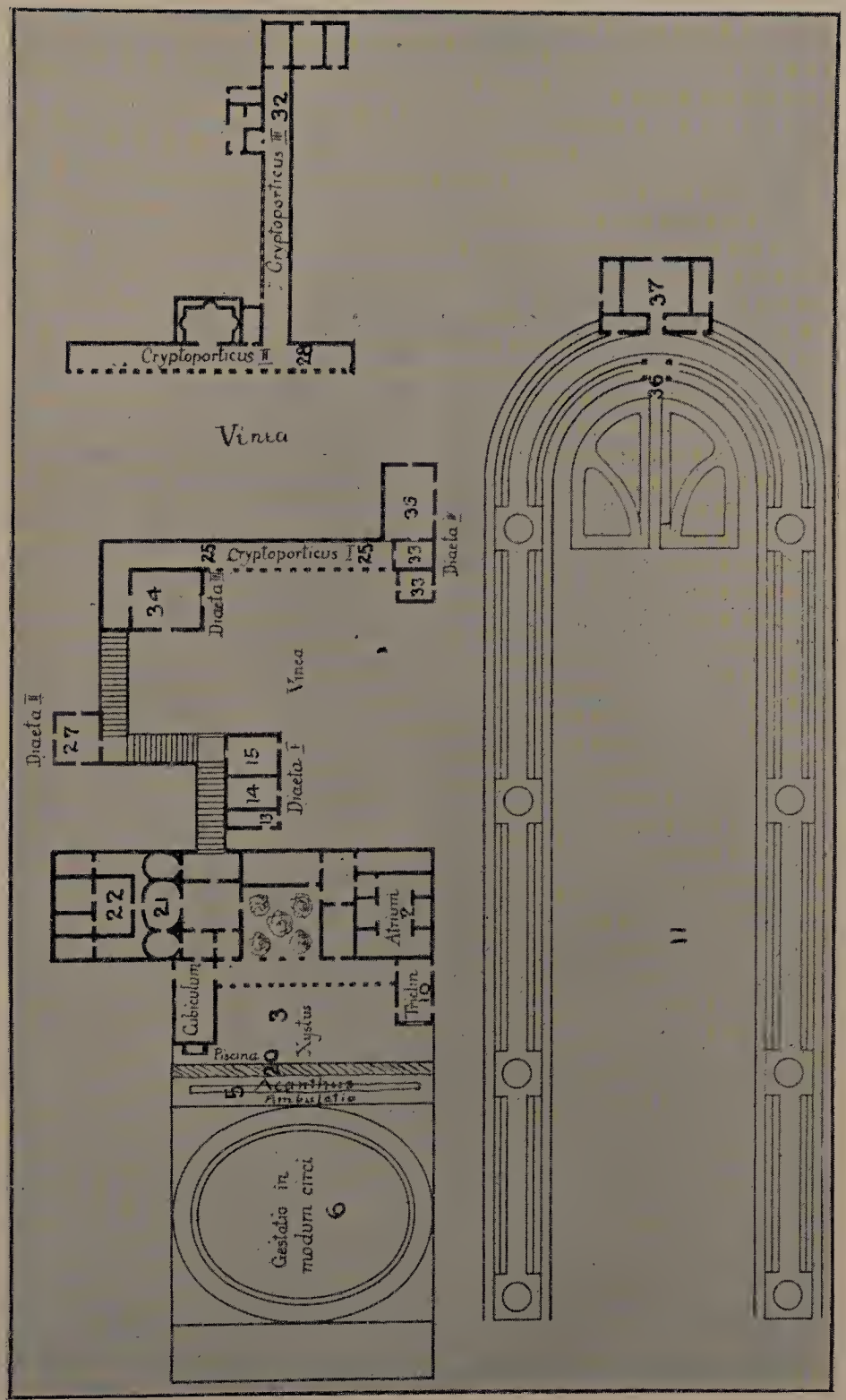
(Plate 55)

Marie Luise Gothein [92] drew her plan from the point of view of the landscape gardener. It is perhaps natural therefore that the park should take up almost as much room as the entire house and be so much more prominent than in any of the other plans. The general arrangement of the main rooms is Hirt's (see Plate 48); the galleries spread out towards the back of the villa. A definite divergence is in putting the outdoor swimming pool in the front garden. This is also reminiscent of Winnefeld's sketch (Plate 54).

6 shows a misunderstanding of the word circus, and ought to be longer; this shorter curved plane has rather the shape of an amphitheatre.

37 the small alcove extends beyond the limits of the park.

[92] Marie Luise Gothein, Geschichte der Gartenkunst. Jena, 1914. Vol. 1, p. 104 ff.



TUSCAN VILLA, PLAN. Gothein, 1914

AUTHOR'S PLAN

(Plate 56)

The garden portions of the villa are not indicated, but only the house and, roughly, the park. The principal rooms are massed together in the centre of the villa.

1. The porch runs across the front of the house.

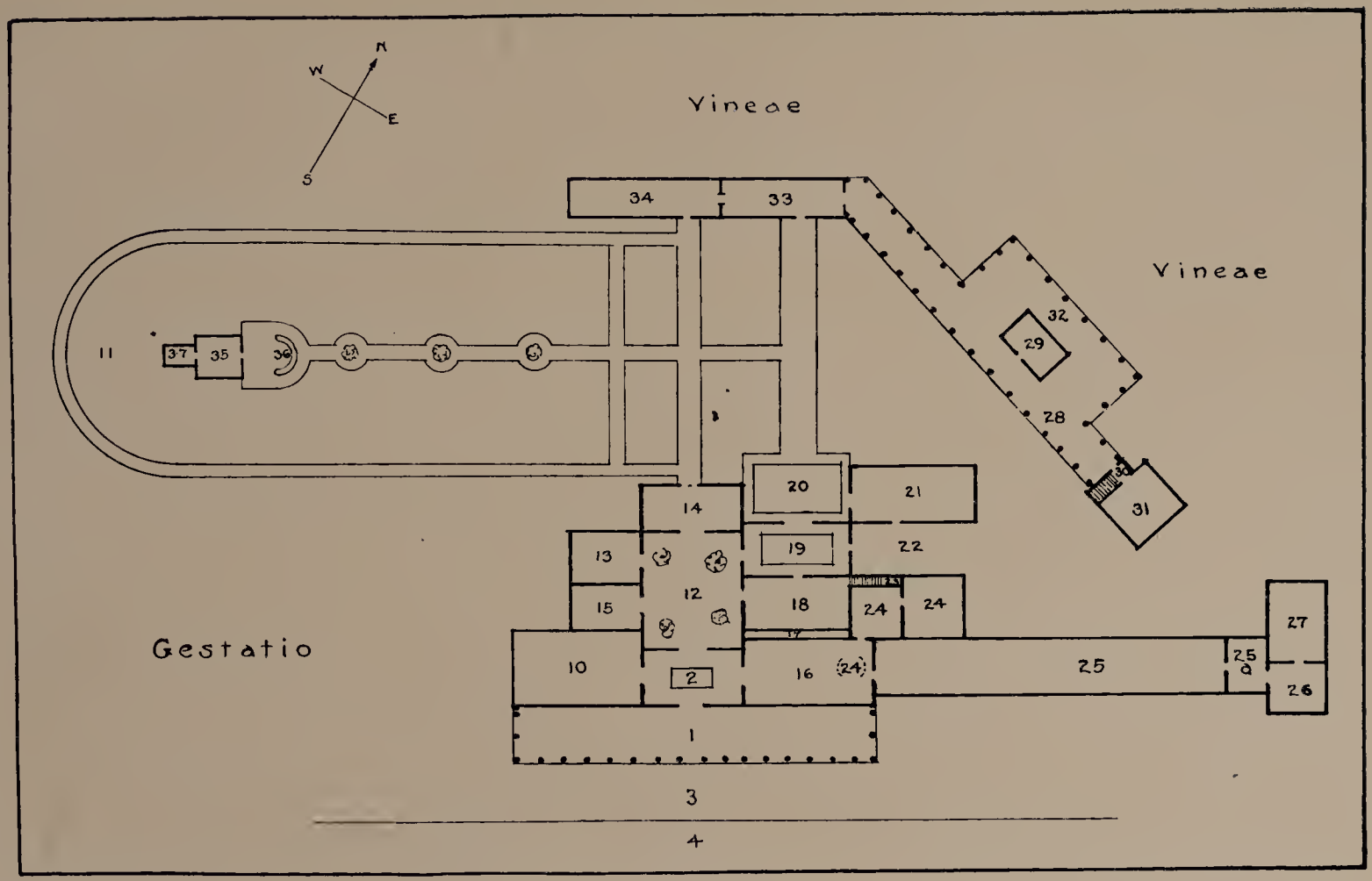
2. The atrium lies behind 1.

12. The little court lies behind 2 in a straight line and is in turn flanked by 14.

24. One of these rooms lies over the large chamber which is placed at the side of the entrance porch and balances 10 the dining room.

25. The gallery stretches off toward the n.e., while 28 the covered colonnade and 32 the second porch are at an angle, with the dining room 29 which extends into the vines and with the two suites of rooms 33 and 34 following the lines of the park.

35, 36, 37 are together at the farther end of the park, to the s.w. of the house.



Tuscan Villa, Plan. Tanzer, 1921

Plate 56

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NOTES

The Laurentum was seventeen miles from Rome and five from Ostia (II. 17.2). The situation of this villa has aroused a great deal of interest, though it is of less importance for our study than the other points in connection with it, chiefly because it is not possible to identify any of the remains on the spot on which it stood with Pliny's actual estate. At one time it was the subject of much study and debate, thus Fea's[93] interest was largely topographical; Lancisius[94] studied the neighborhood for the same reason, after his scientific interest in the vegetation had attracted his attention to it; Lanciani[95] was much aroused over the possibility of perhaps identifying the exact spot, and most of the studies in the topography of the neighborhood of Rome contain a more or less detailed study of the district, but that region has been used so much since Pliny's day that we cannot be sure that anything now remaining dates back to that time.

This was a winter villa, the place for reading and writing and studious leisure.[96] When he gets to his estate, Pliny realizes, he says,[97] how his time in the City is wasted over many trifles. At Laurentum he reads or writes or rests or loafs. He hears nothing disagreeable, no criticism, no fault finding except when he upbraids himself for being lazy; no troubles nor worries beset him, he communes only with himself or with his books. This seems the best thing in life, the best way to live. It is inspiring, uplifting.

In answer to a friend's question as to how his life at Laurentum differed from his leisure in the summer at his Tuscan[98] villa, Pliny replied[99] that there was no difference except that he shortened his midday nap and used the time before daylight or after nightfall, and that if he was pressed for time, he omitted the reading or music after dinner and took the time to revise what he had previously dictated.

Krubsacius[100] thinks that any scientific man (learned, is the exact word he

[93] Carlo Fea, Relazione di un Viaggio ad Ostia e alla Villa di Plinio detta Laurentina. Roma, 1802.

[94] Iohannis Maria Lancisius, Dissertatio de Plinianae Villae Ruderibus atque Ostiensis Litoris Incremento. Roma, 1714.

[95] Rodolfo Lanciani, Wanderings in the Roman Campagna. Boston, 1909.

[96] Pliny, Epistulae, I. 22, 11.

[97] Pliny, Epistulae, I. 9, 4–6.

[98] See p. 147.

[99] Pliny, Epistulae, IX. 40.

[100] Friedrich August Krubsacius, Wahrscheinlicher Entwurf von des Jüngern Plinius Landhause, Laurens Genannt. Leipzig, 1760.

uses) would have mentioned the rooms in regular order without interruptions, but this is just what Pliny does not do in this informal letter. Most of the errors of interpretation to be found in the reconstructions can be traced to this interruption of the description, especially in the case of the tower rooms.

Par. 2, p. 7. *Salvo et composito die:* "without losing or leaving unfinished your day's work" (Westcott).

Via Laurentina and *Via Ostiensis:* streets and roads in Rome were named according to their destination.

Par. 4, p. 7. *Non sumptuosa tutela:* the upkeep not expensive. Westcott calls *atrium* the "entrance hall."

Par. 5, p. 8. *Cavaedium hilare:* Lemaire thinks hilare means "lucidum," light, and (therefore) attractive and cheerful. Prestel[101] adds a long note on this word and especially on the difference between cavaedium and atrium, but after all his conclusion is the same as that of Mau, in Pauly, that there seems to have been no real difference between the two except that the cavaedium always had pillars supporting the roof. Certainly Vitruvius used the two words to mean the same thing.

Par. 7, p. 8. *Hibernaculum:* Castell says: "Vitruvius uses this word for a winter room, here the word signifies a place out of the house made warm in winter by the sun." Melmoth translates this passage as follows: "It is sheltered from all winds except those which are generally attended with clouds, so that nothing can render this place useless, but what at the same time destroys the fair weather."

Par. 8, p. 9. *Hapsida:* Castell: "elliptick" form.

Par. 9, p. 9. *Dormitorium membrum:* Cellarius thinks membrum is here "pars domus," so that I suppose he thought of it as dormitories, not as a separate bedroom. There is no proof that one is more correct than the other, but most of the reconstructions take it as one room.

Par. 10, p. 9. *Procoeton:* both Cellarius and Félibien remark that this anteroom was a place adjoining the bed room where the slaves could sleep in order to be near their masters.

Par. 11, p. 9. *Baptisteria:* movable tubs; *Piscina:* tubs sunk in the ground with a border of marble or stone, any size, a pool (Félibien); *Propnigeon:* suffocatorium (Cellarius); *Sphaeristerium:* Lemaire explains as a building adapted to various exercises.

Par. 12, p. 10. *Diaetae:* Félibien recognizes that diaeta is used to mean one or more rooms, cf. the Tuscan villa, Scamozzi thinks that diaetae are rest rooms, and Bouchet adds the explanation that they are a large room or suite of rooms like the Italian "casino" or the French "pavillon." Lafaye says that diaeta is a "casino" and is reminded of the Trianon "à côté du palais de Versailles."

Par. 14, p. 10. *Gestatio:* the authorities seem agreed that this was a broad path that followed the windings of the park, and was used mostly for chair or couch with bearers (sella, lectica) or small cart (vehiculum). So Cellarius, Félibien and especially Cagnat and Chapot.

[101] J. Prestel, Zehn Bücher über Architektur des Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, übersetzt und erläutert von. 2 vols. Strassburg, 1913.

Par. 15, p. 10. *Via tenera:* Some of the texts read vinea tenera, Kukula in his edition of the letters for 1908 uses via and in a footnote "vinea vulgo, via ego," but whether we read via or vinea the sense is perfectly clear: the path is soft enough to make it pleasant to walk barefoot, an exercise the Romans liked, and shaded by young vines. Lord Orrery translates as follows: "a delicate shady vineyard, the paths of which are easy and soft, even to the naked feet."

Par. 16, p. 11. *Cryptoporticus:* Lord Orrery thinks this gallery was "large enough to appear a public work," but it seems to me the sense is rather that it was as large as many a public building or passage way, large enough, that is, to be used by a number of people, and that is why I have translated it as it stands. Mau in Pauly Wissowa explains the term in general as a covered and enclosed gallery which receives an abundance of light through large windows, and refers to these two letters; and Cagnat and Chapot point out that a covered gallery, often built or extended under ground completely protected against heat, showers or wind was so common among the Romans that it is one of the essential elements of a Roman villa in Imperial times and is found in practically all of the villas. Castell further explains that it was an "enclosed or private porticus, so called to distinguish it from the porticus the roof of which was supported only by pillars. The use was for the exercise of walking when the weather would not permit the use of the walks in the open."

Par. 17, p. 11. *Xystus:* Castell explains as an "open walk, like our terraces," and Graillot in Daremberg et Saglio says that the xystus in Roman gardens was always razed and sanded, like the walks in gymnasiums. He also remarks that it was a favorite promenade, and was decorated most carefully. It was bordered with plants, as in these two letters.

Par. 21, p. 12. *Zotheca:* here, evidently a den in the colloquial sense, which the Standard Dictionary defines as "a room reserved for privacy, a snuggery, study, sanctum." The first definition for the same word used as a noun is "a subterranean retreat; especially a cavern or recess that is the haunt of animals; a lair." Lemaire borrows from Gesner and quotes: "zotheca significare nidum quemdam amoeniorem, maiori cubiculo adiunctum, in quo quis inclusus legere, scribere commentari possit. *Cabinetum* hodierna lingua vocat, defluxumne a caverna? . . . utrumque a cavis animalium." Döring, in his notes on Pliny's letters published in 1843, makes the following comment here: "eigentlich ein käfig für wilde thiere, wurde dann wegen seines geringen umfangs die bezeichnung für ein cabinet, studierzimmer, alcoven." And, finally, Graillot in Daremberg et Saglio explains that the word means first any kind of niche, and then by extension was applied to small rooms forming alcoves intended for rest or study; or a sort of boudoir or bay window for privacy or work; and that it could be separated from its room by curtains or windows. There are several of these at Pompeii, notably in the Centaur's house and in the villa of Diomedes. This last sense is the one in which zothecula is used in the Tuscan villa (p. 23).

Par. 26, p. 13. Lewis translates: . . . "town of Ostia. Indeed a man of moderate requirements might be sufficiently provided even at the neighboring village, which is separated from me by one gentleman's estate only."

The Tuscan villa was situated at the north west edge of Umbria, in the Tiber valley, eight kilometres north of Tifernum Tiberinum [102], the modern Città di

[102] Pliny, Epistulae, IV. 1, 4.

Castello, as Pliny himself tells us. It was a summer villa, and we have a letter of Pliny's [103] telling how he spent the day when he was so fortunte as to have the time for a visit to it. He wakes up when he is ready, he says, rarely later than six o'clock. The windows remain closed and he meditates a while. This he likes very well. Sometimes he composes something new or else considers some emendation of what he wrote the day before. Then he summons his secretary, lets in the light and dictates. After some time spent in this way, he lets the secretary go but recalls him if he wishes to dictate again. About ten o'clock or eleven, according to the season and the weather, he goes into the xystus or the cryptoporticus and continues his literary labors, composing and dictating by turns. Then he has his carriage, and continues as when walking or reclining on his couch. Next he takes a nap, then a walk, then he reads a Greek or Latin oration out loud as much for the benefit of his digestion as of his voice. Then he walks again, has massage, takes some exercise and bathes. Then comes dinner either with his wife alone or with a few friends, when a book is read to the company. After dinner music or a play, then a walk and serious conversation with some of his educated slaves. There is not much change in this programme from one day to another except that sometimes, like a proper paterfamilias, he inspects [104] parts of his estate on horseback—but only instead of walking in his gestatio for exercise.

The Tuscan villa, unlike the Laurentine, was equipped with everything needful to make it selfsupporting and independent. Holbrooke points out that the description of Varro's farm is almost exactly that of this villa, by which I suppose he means that the villa was built and arranged just as Varro had his, and the resemblance is confined chiefly to the situation and not to the architectural details of the house. Castell would like to know who planned the villa, for he says: "Whether Apollodorus one of the greatest architects that any age produced or Mustius, that was sometimes employed by Pliny, or Pliny himself designed these villas is not to be determined."

Tuckermann [105] says that the description of Pliny's Tuscan proves that in the time of the Emperor Titus (sic) (Trajan?) there were as many rococo influences in landscape gardening as in the time of Louis XIV in Versailles. He considers the description photographically clear and very "modern" (1884). Tuckermann remarks further that Pliny's letters are classical monuments of the literature of the world, and that in the time of the Renaissance they were epoch making, and that even in his day ("to-day") the greatest artists were tempted to restore these villas.

It is to Grasset [106] that we owe the final note: "C'est dans ces retraites tant vantées de la Toscane et du Laurentin, que Pline, comme il le dit, aimait à s'isoler du bruit du monde et à s'entourer de tout ce qui pouvait satisfaire son goût pour les choses de l'esprit.

"C'est là qu'il réunissait dans une gracieuse hospitalité Quintilien" et les autres.

[103] Pliny, Epistulae, IX. 36.

[104] Pliny, Epistulae, IX. 15.

[105] W. P. Tuckermann, Die Gartenkunst der Italienischen Renaissance-Zeit. Berlin, 1884. Cap. III. Die Vorschule des Ital. Renais. Parkes.

[106] J. Grasset, Pline le Jeune, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. 1864. (See Bibliography.)

Par. 8, p. 16. Varro,[107] says Castell, "gives these directions: On the highest land, which as the coldest was most unfit for tillage, he orders the woods to be planted, and the vines lower down the hills; and the corn to be sowed in the fields which lay in the plains; which was the reason why Pliny in this description takes notice that though some of the corn-fields near him were on the hills, yet they were as fruitful as those in the plains, though the corn was not so soon ripe."

Par. 14, p. 17. Lord Orrery translates this passage as follows: "My house although built at the foot of a hill, has a view as if it stood upon the brow of it. The ascent is so gradual and easy that you find yourself at the top almost before you perceive yourself ascending."

Par. 15, p. 17. To Melmoth we owe the following: "The exposition of the principal front of the house is full south, and seems to invite the afternoon sun in summer (but something earlier in winter) . . ."

Par. 19, p. 18. *Hippodromus:* Cagnat and Chapot explain that "les allées où l'on pouvait se promener à cheval ou en voiture recevait le nom de hippodromus" and Lafaye, in Daremberg et Saglio, defines it as a "longue piste ornée à son extremité d'un pavillon avec colonnes de marbre où l'on peut encore manger et coucher, si l'on veut," which is just what we find in this villa. We remember also the so-called hippodrome on the Palatine which turns out to be nothing more than an elaborate park-like garden.

Par. 20, p. 19. *Diaeta:* means either a suite of rooms, as here, or a single room.

Par. 22, p. 19. The walls of this room were wainscoted with marble up to the podium, above it they were frescoed.

Par. 26, p. 20. *Caldarium:* I take it that Pliny had three rooms in the bath suite: apodyterium, the dressing room, frigidarium, the room containing the pool, and another, the caldarium which is also *cella media*. In the thermae or public baths there was also a tepidarium, a room warm enough to prepare the bather to enter the hot room, but in a private house this room could well be spared. If Pliny had meant that *cella media* and *cella caldaria* were two different rooms he would certainly have told us more about media, and not have passed it with a mere mention when he always describes the appearance or use of everything else he introduces. It is easy enough to be misled in this particular, and many of the reconstructions include an extra room.

Prominet: Since it projects it receives abundant sunshine, and is therefore warmer than the ordinary caldarium.

Par. 35, p. 22. *Metulae:* conical in shape. Lafaye in the article HORTUS in Daremberg et Saglio thinks that they were cut out of box or rosemary.

Par. 36, p. 23. *Stibadium:* Félibien explains this not as a simple bench but as the name for the whole structure for dining, table and couches, and thinks that the principal difference between a stibadium and an ordinary triclinium was that the former was made of stone or marble or even of turf, while the latter was movable and was not set up until required for use.

Carystiae columellae: Carystian marble was very precious. It was imported from Euboea.

Par. 43, p. 25. Homer, the reference is to Iliad, XVIII, 478–607; Vergil, the reference is to Aeneid, VIII, 626–728. Krubsacius, so far from thinking the letter too long, wishes it were much longer, with more details.

[107] R.R. I. 7.

GLOSSARY

Ala, ae, the wings or side halls of a building.
Ambulatio, a walk, a promenade.
Andron, a passage between two walls or courts of a house.
Apodyterium, the dressing room in a bath house.
Area, a court or open space.
Areola, diminutive of area.
Atrium, the fore-court, hall, or entrance room.
Calida, (adj.) warm.
Campus, i, a plain or field.
Casino (Italian). Summer house, cottage, pavilion.
Cavaedium (*cavum aedium*), the inner court.
Cella, an apartment in a bath house.
Cenatio, a dining room, a dining hall.
Cryptoporticus, a covered gallery or passage.
Cubiculum, an apartment, especially one for resting or sleeping, a chamber.
Culina, a kitchen.
Diaeta, a dwelling place, an apartment.
Displuviate, (a court in which) the rain water runs off on both sides of the walls.
Dormitorium, sleeping room.
Exedra, ae, a hall furnished with seats.
Fauces, a narrow way, an entrance.
Frigidarium, the cooling room in a bath.
Gestatio, a promenade or a place where one is carried to take the air.
Hapsida (*absida*), an arch or vault, an apse.
Heliocaminus, an apartment exposed to the sun, a sun parlor.
Hortus, a garden.
Hypocaustion, a bathing room heated from below, a sweating chamber.
Impluvium, a skylight, (also) the square basin in the atrium into which the rain water fell.
Oecus, a room in a house, a hall, salon.
Palaestra, wrestling place, place for exercise, gymnasium.
Pavillon, (French) pavilion, wing, summer-house.
Peristylium, a place surrounded with columns on the inside, a peristyle.
Piscina, a fish-pond, (transf.) a swimming pool, a basin.
Porticus, a walk covered by a roof supported on columns, a colonnade, piazza, arcade, gallery, porch, portico.
Pratum, a meadow.
Procoeton, an anteroom, antechamber.
Propnigeon, the room where a bath was heated.
Pulvinus, an elevation, a raised bank, ridge.
Scalae, a flight of steps or stairs, a staircase.
Sphaeristerium, a place for playing ball, a ball court.

Stibadium, a semicircular seat or couch. (But see the note on p. 148.)
Testudinate, arched, vaulted.
Tetrastyle, having four columns.
Triclinium, a couch running around three sides of a table for reclining on at meals, (transf.) a room for eating in, a dining room.
Unctorium, the anointing room in a bath.
Xystus, an open colonnade or portico, or a walk planted with trees, etc. for recreation, conversation, etc., terrace.
Zotheca, a little private chamber, closet or cabinet.
Zothecula, dim. of zotheca.

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